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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE APRIL 14, 1990 VOL. 103 NO. 16

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COVER

THE JEWS

Anti-Semitism is on the rise
 in the Soviet Union and Eastern
 Europe, often as a by-
 product of religious nationalism.
 Soviet Jews have been
 subjected to threatening
 phone calls and rumors of pogroms
 at a time when, paradoxically,
 they have been allowed greater
 freedom to practise their religion.
 As a result, thousands of them
 are choosing to emigrate to
 Israel.

— 22

SPECIAL REPORT

LEGACY OF A TRAGIC LIFE

A century after his death, the genius
 of Vincent van Gogh is the focus of
 British celebrations in his
 native Holland. Although the painter
 was wrecked by self-doubt, his
 works are now among the most be-
 loved in the world. And they draw
 record prices in an overheated in-
 ternational art market.

— 36



FASHION

SKIRTING THE ISSUE

At fall fashion shows, most European
 and North American designers
 were displaying a broad spectrum
 of lengths and styles. And despite
 many women's ambivalence to-
 wards abbreviated hemlines, de-
 signers displayed shorts, skirts, sa-
 rong and body stockings—all
 meant to accent the leg.

— 58



PAIN RESEARCH STUDIES PROVE NEW ACTIPROFEN IS STRONGER THAN PAIN.

Now headache researchers actually know how
 headache pain happens.

In most cases there are three aspects to a bad
 headache:

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 pand and throb.

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 eases.

Doctors recommend
 new **ACTIPROFEN**.
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Now from medical
 science comes a differ-
 ent kind of pain reliever,
 clinically proven to have
 the strength to help end
 bad headache pain fast.
 And with little chance of
 stomach upset
 It's not ASA.



STRONGER THAN PAIN.

LETTERS

A PLEA FOR UNITY

Rochelle Bourassa says that he will not promote federalism on his latest ("Tourism turns up the heat," Cover, March 12). As a Canadian worried at the prospect of losing our nation, I am willing to get on my knees to beg for some unity and sense of federalism on his part. I do not want the Canadian passport to be a souvenir item to my children.

Lee Fain,
Victoria

I can only shake my head in sadness at the current situation with regard to Meek Lalor and the growing tension between English and French Canada ("Canada is crisis," Cover, March 12). It is difficult to believe that a solution cannot be found in this founding marriage of cultures. Switzerland has four national languages—German, French, Italian and Romansh—and these cultures enjoy each other's richness in harmony. Why is it that Canada is unable to do the same?

Sandra Lash,
Zurich

In Niagara, where I come from, we have federalism from kindergarten to post-graduate education. There has never been a debate about whether signs should be in English or French—they are in either, or both. I speak and write English and French fluently. I am proud of it and I wish Canadians could see the benefit of bilingualism.

Drew F. Goodfellow,
North Bay, Ont.

JUSTIFIABLE EXPENSE

If Hoot of Two were purchased only to create a swollen actress in art, the expense has already been justified ("Stripes of steel," Art, March 26). Another benefit: a widely recognized piece by an internationally respected artist, and an apparent bargain at \$1.75.

Gary Koff,
Toronto

CANADA BUILT BY IMMIGRANTS

How quickly people forget ("Phone back-bite," Canada, March 19). Canada was built by ethnic immigrants—many of whom were white Europeans who became the victims of discrimination in their new home. Instead of learning from this, Peter Menzies and Thomas Brattner single out the current immigrants as targets of sport. As a Canadian who is enjoying home after four years away, I am disgusted that Canada has its own breed of xenophobic.

James Ughoff,
Lansdale, Ark.



Bourassa: limits to federalism

AN IMMODEST PROPOSAL

It is hard to do justice to the macabres in J. Donat France's column "A modest proposal to our legislators" (March 26). We have good. If I can "get a commission" by deterring politicians to use competitors "only on [my] terms," it is news to me. There is no payment

in Ottawa's health-plan schedule for making a referral, and fee-splitting is rightly illegal. Secondly, anasthetics is not a virus—it is a disease. Sometimes, it is indeed caused by viruses, but it is also caused by various bacteria or other organisms. Lastly, France suggests that each Canadian should have a personal annual health budget. I assume she has not considered the effect this would have on persons with chronic illnesses who would be saddled with additional health costs that could bankrupt them. France's proposal is either aimed at punishing people for being sick or—given the sloppiness of her research—poorly thought-out.

Dr. Michael Jamson,
Toronto

SHADING THE TRUTH

What a joy you had no picture of the "cruises" (March 12) when you describe as them "cruises" (March 12). It would have been interesting to compare them with the traditional world.

David Blackmore,
Toronto

Letters on edited and may be combined. Writers should indicate names, addresses and telephone numbers. Send letters to: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's, 100 King St. West, Toronto, Ont. M5X 1C7.

PASSAGES

DEED: Just singer Sarah Vaughan, 65, affectionately known throughout her 47-year career as "the Queen of Swing" for her voluptuous and versatile style of big band, to her being, not less. Vaughan, after performing with Billy Eckstine and the Earl Hines band in the early 1940s, Vaughan launched a solo career in 1946. Her first hit recording was "Tenderly" (1947), followed by such successes as "I'll Be Home Again" (1948), "A Foggy Day" (1949), "Misty" and "Gone with the Wind" (1950). Vaughan's last recording was "The Love I'm In" (1987). She died of cancer on March 26, 1990.



EXPECTING: Her first child, born on May 19, 1988. Olympic gold medalist sprinter Florence Griffith-Joyner, 32, is a two-time world champion. Her husband is Al Joyner, 30, the 2004 Olympic triple-pump gold medalist. Griffith-Joyner, who retired last year after breaking the world records in the 100- and 200-m races, captured world attention when she wore a white lace body stocking to compete at the Games at Seoul.

DEED: Influential jazz trombonist Louis Nelson, 72, died in North America and Europe for his velvet-toned playing. At squares nestled in a hot and humid climate, in Montreal, he has many Orleans home. During his 47-year career, Nelson played with some of the world's best traditional groups, including one led by the legendary Thomas (Kid) Thomsen.

AWARDS: To learn that Frank Lantz, 58, an author, novelist, and in 1988, the British tabloid "The Paper" had said that the Canadian-born player had a secret affair with Pamela Anderson, a longtime parliamentary researcher and call girl.

DEED: Influential literary critic William French, 64, who has written reviews of more than 3,000 books, in literary editor of the Toronto Globe and Mail, after 30 years, effective in May 93.

DEED: Italian actor Aldo Fabrizi, 94, who was international fame for his poignant portrayal of a homeless priest in the classic 1946 movie "Rome, Open City" in a Rome hospital.



The French Alps, on the cover of the book

Even natural spring water. Filtered through the glacial formations of the French Alps for fifteen years where it is blessed with its uniquely balanced mineral composition. Bottled at the source, never altered, treated or processed in any way, Evian is as pure and natural in downtown Canada as it is high up in the French Alps.



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OPENING NOTES

MPs battle over a parliamentary smoking ban, Art Buchwald orders in pizza, and NASA conquers a dirty enemy

BUTTING OUT ON THE HILL

The freshmen are officially arrived in the House of Commons last December when they voted to ban smoking in all buildings on Parliament Hill. Since then, Greg Thompson, a Progressive Conservative backbencher from Nova Brunswick, has become embroiled in a campaign to persuade tobacco users in the House to adhere to the no-smoking regulations. In his pursuit of a smoke-free environment, Thompson has identified government whip James Macpherson and parliamentary secretary Albert Cooper—the two men who are most concerned with party discipline—as Tories who are still lighting up in the members' lobby. In-



Thompson—cigarettes on the carpet

stead, in February the New Brunswick member even asked Speaker of the House Jean Frenette to state that his colleagues' illegal smoking infringed upon his rights as an MP. Frenette declined to rule on the issue at that time, adding that he "would prefer that this matter be resolved among members speedily and with a sense of responsibility and self-discipline rather than have more severe measures taken." But Thompson maintains that he is still finding cigarette butts ground into the carpet in the members' lobby adjacent to the government benches—in contrast to the opposition lobby, where his laws are reinforced from smoking. He added that he is again considering asking Frenette to rule on the illegal smoking. As a result, another type of litter could soon surface in the members' lobby: the wipers from cigarettes—leaving gurn-

Removing the bugs from the system

Despite elaborate precautions against such accidents, a vortex of tiny black flies caused a delay at scientists preparing for the scheduled launch of the space shuttle Discovery and its \$1.75-billion payload, the Hubble Space Telescope, this week. Mission specialists learned that, as technicians prepared to load the massive telescope aboard the shuttle at Florida's Kennedy Space Center on March 25, the insects, commonly known as midges, swarmed into the supposedly sealed payload preparation area. Staff National Aeronautics and Space Administration spokesman Michael Bro-



Space telescope on fly-swarming allowed

wing the midges, because that would have contaminated the atmosphere. The technicians finally removed the insect's prime cause by employing a chemical insect trap to lure 40 midges to their deaths. A fly in the ointment was a welcome development.

CRAMMING FOR A CONFERENCE

A state department staffer has publicly acknowledged that George Bush found little time to prepare for a one-day visit with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in Toronto this week. He said that the President was kept busy in Washington last week with briefing on friction between Iraq and Israel and talks with visiting Soviet Foreign Minister Edward Shevardnadze. Indeed, the U.S. official added that Bush would be breaking up on such U.S.-Canadian issues as acid rain during the one-hour flight of Air Force One to Toronto. Clearly, he was prepared to wing it.



Tempo (left), Saab 900: unfattering comparisons and objections from Ford

TEST-DRIVE THIS FREIGHT CHARGE

Ford Canada protests are the targets of some unfattering comparisons in a current series of TV and print ads for the compact car. In the ads, Ontario-based General Motors claims that its Pontiac Sundart and Chevrolet Cavalier have lower operating costs than Ford Tempo and Taurus models in the same price range—between \$11,500 and \$15,000. But officials at Ford's Detroit, Mich., headquarters strongly objected to GM's claim that its customers pay lower freight

costs—about \$600 per car, against the \$540 charged by Ford—for shipping rates to dealerships. Said Ford spokesman John Johnson: "We were going to show that we got that down and dirty and go so directly on the attack." For his part, GM representative Nick Bell defended the ads, noting that car had lower freight rates even though its Sundart and Cavalier are all made in U.S. plants while most of Ford's Tempo and Taurus models are built in Canada.



Globe and Mail buildings a significant change

Tremors at the Globe

Editorial staff at the Toronto *Globe and Mail* stayed late at the top in 1993 as publisher Ray McGrory fired editor-in-chief Norman Webster and rising editor Geoffrey Staines, replacing them with William Thornhill and Timothy Pritchard, respectively. Since then, personnel rumors that McGrory had grown disenchanted with Thornhill and would replace him have failed to bear fruit. Still, a significant personnel change occurred last month, when McGrory fired Paul Pelingsma, second editor. Pelingsma was a sharp-tongued veteran of 13 years' service at the newspaper, and some colleagues say that he had bluntly expressed his concern that the *Globe's* commitment to investigative journalism appeared to be waning. Shortly before his dismissal, a *Globe* Pelingsma engaged in a heated discussion with senior managers over an internal report in which Pelingsma criticized the performance of the newspaper's domestic bureau—particularly the Montreal bureau. While McGrory declined to comment on the dismissal, *Globe* editors say that Pelingsma's strapping columns is that report clearly angered the publisher. In any event, Pelingsma is now supervising a settlement with *Globe* representatives—and, he says, considering several job offers.

Lighting the way for police

Police in Manitoba are using an unusual tool to trace marijuana growers, as judges have allowed them to examine the electricity bills of customers suspected of cultivating marijuana. The police say that the plants are being grown hydroponically—an indoor growing method that requires continuous, high-powered lighting and can increase a monthly hydro bill by \$2,000. According to Winnipeg police Insp. Raymond Jolani, the pursuit of Manitoba's Hydro records has resulted in "seven real good busts" in that city alone since January. Now, more home gardeners could be in for a shock.

HAUNTING ECHOES OF HISTORY

Since 1945, the U.S. government has controlled the world's largest collection of Nazi personal records, housing millions of original documents in the American sector of West Berlin. But West German officials say that papers ranging from Nazi party membership cards to the files of its storm-trooper units should be transferred to Bonn's control because they are "part of German history." Still, some U.S. justice department officials who are hunting Nazi war criminals are justly appalled that request, noting that similar archives on Nazi activities in Austria disappeared shortly after U.S. officials turned them over to Vienna—in 1955. Germany may be on the verge of reunification, but the Second World War still casts a long shadow.

BREAD-AND-BUTTER ISSUES

In January, a California judge voided that Paramount Pictures' old lawsuit from the court last year that barred comedian Eddie Murphy from actually testifying. Late last month, Paramount executives indicated that they were old lawsuit from the court last year that barred the two men from taking most breaks in the state cafeteria. In response, Buchwald said pizza to them—and told them to order it, as his expense, for as long as it took them to comb the state's books—and, presumably, bring home some home.



Buchwald: send out for pizza

Front row centre as the Curtain rises.



The remarkable events shaking the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are being reported by Maclean's team of correspondents, led by our Bureau Chief in Moscow, Anthony Wilson-Smith, and London Bureau Chief Andrew Phillips.

As the real life drama unfolds, their accounts provide perspectives from both sides of the Iron Curtain and appear exclusively in Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine.

Maclean's

THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE.

COLUMN



A taxing lesson for the Iron Lady

BY BARBARA AMIEL

What, I wondered, will Canadian opinion-makers say about the protest march last week against Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's new poll tax—the possible expropriation that turned into a full-blown riot in London's Trafalgar Square? What sort of questions would Barbara Frum or Peter Gosselin be asking? I'd put my money on the "Do you think Thatcher will be forced to mull?" approach. I knew that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, if asked, would deplore the violence while saying something along the lines of, "The Canadians will be to avoid these conditions of inequality which lead to such danger and violence."

In the end, it was the *Globe* and *Mail* which took the most courageous stand, I thought. "The greatest unfairness of the tax," it editorialized, "has infuriated the middle- and lower-income British homeowners who deserted the popular Labour Party in 1978 for Mrs. Thatcher." It is the inequitable war-torn home "the patent unfairness" that is outrageous, because, unless the *Globe* has a shortcut to the future, there is absolutely no way yet to determine whether the poll tax is fair or unfair.

All we can learn from this new sort of British taxation policy, as one leader, when citizens are made to pay more from money they already have—rather than by deductions or severe or automatic reduction in the price of goods—they realize just how much they dislike paying a tax.

This is no work, of course, but these editorial writers sometimes get lost in the excitement of throwing bars at Thatcher. If you want to look the people who pay the cost of government relations question—and *paying*—do not follow Thatcher's example. Let the government run up the deficits and charge someone taxes on everything from automobiles to appliances—but for heaven's sake get rid of the money before the citizen has it in his hand. Mulroney, as he says, is learning that lesson himself as he fights for a Goods and Services Tax that Canadians will have to pay at the cash register.

The new poll tax in Britain is a tax to be paid by every man and woman over 18. It is to help

When citizens are made to pay taxes from money they already have, they realize just how much they dislike paying taxes

finance local government services from street cleaning to education costs. It is similar in purpose to the taxes we pay in Canada to our provincial and municipal governments.

Until now, in Britain, the budgets for local governments have been financed by grants from the central government, and by business- and homeowners' taxes, but not residents. There is a separate income tax for local costs. This has been unaffordable in affluent and, to be a bit out of the *Globe's* phrase book, *graciously* so. It meant that many homeowners were suffering crushing taxes while those in rented accommodation, in other words, tenants, paid absolutely nothing. In the inner cities where large numbers of taxpayers live in government-owned council housing, local Labour councils put the financial squeeze on businesses. Many moved away, making such areas even more depressed.

Adding to the unpopularity has been the problem with the spending patterns of many Labour-controlled local governments. Left-wing councils have been financing their ambitious plans for social engineering (such as school closures in Leeds and conferences on the new, the lesbian-only government) by running up huge deficits. But the responsibility

for making up those deficits, or taking the heat for cuts in essential services, fell on the central government. Everyone agreed the system had to be changed.

Enter Thatcher. She brought the idea of her policy advisors that the fairest road to reform lay with a poll tax. Not only would it finance local government, but it would make taxpayers take a keen interest in just how the money was spent. Thatcher had a shrewd idea that when everyone had to pay directly, they might be less enthused about spending money on self-defence seminars for Irish homosexuals. (Sorry if I keep giving homosexual examples, but that lobby has been a favorite of Labour councils.) If, on the other hand, local voters wanted to spend money on such specialist interest programs instead of buying new garbage trucks, well, they could prove their local authorities, live in dirty streets and have only themselves to blame. As it is, the amount of poll tax that each individual has to pay varies according to the local authority's spending needs. As a result, there are places in London, for example, where residents on one side of a street, in an area controlled by Labour, are being required to pay almost twice as much in poll tax as their neighbors on the other side in a Conservative district.

As for the often-heard complaint that everyone, whether they were the billions of Dollars of Westminister or an unemployed laborer, would have to pay the same poll tax, well, that was even so. It didn't. The government created a system of exemptions, on relatives and supplies costs that was to be a great utility cut. After the rest of us, by now we have generally become accustomed to paying a lot on virtually every necessity we purchase.

On paper, the new scheme sounded very fair. I can imagine Thatcher leaning forward, her hand cradled with anxiety, congratulating her advisors on a "very, very sound piece of work." The scotch and sodas must have been sloshing down the night Downing Street thought it had solved its case. Only one problem remained. It was called *unpopular*.

Take a few million people who have managed to get away with never paying a direct penny for their street cleaning and tell them the party is over. Add to the mix more than 10 million Labour voters telling people to leave the law and refuse to pay the tax. Create a system of rebates and tax credits and an evasive system called "tax-capping" (I simply can't explain it in less than 100 more columns) and it becomes a tax-rebates identity crisis. Did it in your third term of office, like Thatcher, and it becomes, well, a challenge.

In the poll tax war more often than other forms of taxation? No more worth their lives as an intellectual or economist can really tell. That will only be known when we see how the voters behave. Inevitably, this isn't me. Margaret Thatcher, only a case of a bunch of chaos who managed, through an anomaly of the system, to escape one level of the awesome 20th-century burden of taxation and are now being forced to bear their share. Think to say, my Westminister heart is not really sure which side it is on.

A QUICK COUNT

DESPITE HIS CONSTITUTIONAL STAND, JEAN CHRETIEN SEEMS CLOSE TO LOCKING UP QUEBEC

The moment should have belonged to Paul Martin. As soon as those 406 Liberal party members at the Quebec riding of Richelieu gathered en masse to choose 12 delegates to send to Jean's leadership convention in Calgary, all the calculations, even those of rival contender Jean Chretien, indicated that Martin's supporters would sweep the state. That would have breathed badly needed new life into the Montrealer's faltering bid to succeed John Turner as the next Liberal leader. One reason for the Martin forces' confidence was the early declared support of the riding's swing rep, Gilles Rochelle, a former Quebec cabinet minister. But when the votes were counted at the end of the evening, a brutal capitulation, Chretien's followers walked off with 11 seats. The sole vote left the Martin camp reeling. "We came up short," confessed a gleeful David Dugas, one of the defeated Martin candidates. "Obviously, it hurts."

As the wearying process of selecting Quebec's delegates to the Liberal convention gets under full steam, a Chretien victory in his home province appears increasingly likely. The former Liberal cabinet minister has taken a commanding lead in the contest he has the loyalty of Quebec's roughly 1,800 convention delegates. That accomplishment is the more striking in view of Chretien's opposition to the Meech Lake constitutional accord—which is strongly supported in the province by both the Liberal Quebec government and public opinion. In fact, in spite of separate victories of their own, even workers for Chretien's principal rivals—Martin and Jeanne M. St-Onge—came—were beginning last week to question whether anything could prevent the leading candidate from clinching a first ballot victory in June. An one-party workout, unofficially confirmed to Martin, reportedly, "it'd be true



An embrace for Martin in Montreal: "We came up short, obviously it hurts"

that the leadership will be won at last in Quebec, then we may already be past the point where Chretien can be stopped." The figures are telling: by the end of last week, 42 of Quebec's 76 ridings had selected convention delegates. According to the best estimates of most organizers, Chretien has secured the commitment of approximately 370 of them. Martin, his closest opponent, has about 150 votes. Copps's work third, with 37 delegates. And with fewer than half of the province's constituencies still to make up their minds, the opportunities for Chretien's opponents to cut into his lead are running out.

In politics, at least, both the Martin and Copps organizations are optimistic. "I think Chretien has already taken his best shot," said Dennis Dawson, Martin's chief Quebec organizer. "When all the heads are counted, Chretien will not have a majority of the delegates from this province." Indeed, both Martin and Copps were cheered last week—in spite of Martin's disaster in Richelieu—in the suburban Montreal riding of Longueuil, a poor Martin-Copps state almost open to Chretien, whose sweep ultimately took 10 delegates by the surprise of margin. The following morning in Châteauguay, south of Montreal, Martin's

team won all 12 delegates, while Copps swept the state at Quebec City's Longueuil. And, in spite of his last year Copps in delegates, it was Martin whose campaign appeared most troubled. "While Chretien was showing the political pros who can deliver the delegates Martin was worrying about the youth clubs," said one Montreal-based Martin

In fact, Chretien's isolation from other Quebec leaders on the constitutional issue was underscored last week when the Quebec national assembly voted 185 to 3 to reject any changes to the accord. Only the three members of the English-riding Equality party dissented. But last week, Chretien appeared to soften his anti-Meech rhetoric. Insuring that he still opposed the accord as written, Chretien sag-

gested that he would still not be alarmed if it were revised by the June 23 deadline—if there were also guarantees of future amendments. Meanwhile, Copps stood to benefit from the support of senior provincial Liberal Quebec Health Minister Marc-Yves Chénier, for one, threw his support to Copps after former Quebec environment minister Clifford Lussier withdrew from the leadership race on Feb. 27. Chénier, the provincial party's chief organizer, is credited with orchestrating Robert Bourassa's 1985 return to power after his defeat by the PQ.



Chretien at campaign event: Copps (below) a commanding lead in delegates' loyalty

in 1994. His influence was evident last week in Copps's victory in Langlois. And, in spite of his last year Copps in delegates, it was Martin whose campaign appeared most troubled. "While Chretien was showing the political pros who can deliver the delegates Martin was worrying about the youth clubs," said one Montreal-based Martin



BARRY CAME IN Montreal with BRUCE WALLACE in Quebec

some supporters in Quebec and elsewhere. "We had been led to believe that Martin would control Quebec," observed one Nova Scotia-based Martin backer. "It is very disappointing to see polls showing that Chretien—and even Copps—a race popular." In fact, according to a late March survey by the Montreal-based GMI polling firm, the Montreal MP is running a distant third as Quebecers' choice for prime minister, with the support of a mere 14 per cent of those surveyed. While 27 per cent backed Chretien, it was Copps who came out on top, with 32 per cent. That outcome, according to English France, Copps's western Quebec organizer, reflected the appeal of the 37-year-old Hamilton MP's pro-Meech stance. But French and popular political stance. Declared Fester: "She is a breath of fresh air."

But Copps's popularity in public opinion seemed to hold little significance for the majority of Quebec Liberals. For now, it is the battle for partisan loyalties that counts. And on that point, at least, the battle is clearly running as Jean Chretien's favor.

National Notes

TURNING POINTS

The odds against the Meech Lake constitution's success being tipped by its June 22 deadline might seem largely lost work when New Brunswick's Liberal government passed the province. They didn't. Although Premier Clyde Wells left open the possibility of a provincial referendum on Meech Lake, he said that he would hold one only if Ontario and New Brunswick—which have refused to ratify the accord—decide to accept it.

QUEBEC SAYS NO

In another blow to the constitution's advocates' prospects, Premier Robert Bourassa's Liberals and the opposition Parti Québécois joined forces to endorse a resolution calling for any changes to the agreement. The motion specifically rejected New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna's March 21 compromise proposal, which he planned to present at the opening of this week of parliamentary committee hearings seeking a solution to the Meech Lake impasse.

MURKIN AND THE SENATE

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney said that public hearings on Senate reform would begin this summer—if the Meech Lake accord is ratified. Under the terms of the agreement, Senate reform would be among the first subjects of future constitutional discussions. But without an agreement, Mulroney said in Calgary, "there will be no Senate reform."

SLOWING THE TRAFFIC

Quebec's new transportation Minister Stephen McNeil introduced new government action to reducing the flow of refugee claimants from Eastern Europe who leave public buses during refueling stops in Greater Montreal, and at Montreal's Mirabel airport. McNeil said that Eastern Bloc air travellers—who usually wait a year to meet Canada—will now have to obtain visas before boarding flights that refuel at the two airports.

AN INQUEST ADORES

A coroner's inquest into the Nov. 19 death of Olympic swimming gold medalist Victor Davis, who died after being struck by a car following an altercation outside a suburban Montreal bar, adjourned until May 14. Police Const. Alfred Audouin testified that the three people in the car that hit Davis and then sped away were not given breath tests because the men who claimed to have been the driver did not smell of alcohol, although one of the other two did.



Auto plant worker in Mexico; industrial wages are a fraction of Canadian levels

Continental murmurings

Mulroney monitors Mexico's free trade moves

After wrapping up his visit to Mexico City last month, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney was issued one free trade agreement would enter into a free trade agreement with the United States and Canada. Mulroney replied that he "would not be surprised" by such a development, but that he had to wait for the Mexican government's plans. In fact, Mulroney has learned that, a day earlier, Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari told Mulroney privately that his government had already begun secret talks with the United States about getting a free trade pact—the first step in establishing what Mexican officials hope will eventually be a continent-wide North American free trade zone. Indeed, Salinas added Mulroney his advice on how to deal with the expected hostility from Mexican nationalists, who oppose closer economic ties with the United States. "We do not want to make any false steps," an advisor to Salinas said last week. "We realize that we have to proceed cautiously."

Mulroney clearly understands the political risks of engineering free trade. Voters' doubts about the Prime Minister's own trade pact were a central issue in the 1988 general

election campaign. Now, apart from offering the benefits of his experience to his Mexican colleagues, Mulroney is keeping a respectful distance between himself and Mexico's sensitive. For one thing, detractors of the Gory trade policy charged last week the establishment of a continental free trade zone could force Canadian workers to compete against Mexican laborers, who earn sharply lower wages.

Despite these concerns, Mulroney's early reaction to Mexico's initiative was favorable. "A stronger Mexican economy can only be beneficial to the entire hemisphere," he told delegates to a meeting of the late-American Development Bank in Montreal last week. And the subject was certain to be on the agenda for his scheduled afternoon visit meeting with President George Bush in Toronto this week.

According to senior Mexican and Canadian officials, Salinas wanted the talks with Washington to remain secret until much later this year, in order to allow him more time to build popular support for U.S.-Mexico free trade. But his plans were pre-empted on March 27, when word of the discussions, leaked by U.S. officials, appeared in *The Wall Street Journal*. Since then, Salinas has declined to comment on

with the United States or a three-way agreement involving Canada. "It is possible that we could get involved at a later stage," he said.

Like Salinas, Mulroney appears to be sensitive to the potential for a backlash against continental free trade. In fact, even some high-ranking federal bureaucrats oppose the creation of a three-party trade area. "There are arguments on both sides, but some people in the trade establishment are overly keen on this work arena," one senior International Affairs official, who remained anonymous, said. "Their position is that we are just trying to digest the effects of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, and this is the worst possible time to tackle something new."

In addition, the prospect of free trade with Mexico could mean new losses among opponents of the FTA. In the Commons last week, now Sir David Raker accused Mulroney of "selling out Canada" by encouraging Mexico to seek free trade with the United States. Raker asserted that Mexican workers mean an average of \$1.60 an hour, compared with \$12 to \$14 an hour for Canadian workers. For his part, Canadian Auto Workers president Robert White said that Canada would gain little from the creation of a wider trade area. "It sounds like the Americans want access to Canada's natural resources and Mexico's cheap labor," connected White. Still, with the leaders of all three North American nations supporting the concept, it seems likely to be only a matter of time before trade negotiations move out of the realm of confidential exchanges, and onto the open ground of public debate.

RICK LAYR

the subject—a sign, one Mexican official said of how politically sensitive the subject remains in Mexico. "We are trying to cool things off so that it cannot be exploited by the alarmists," the official added. "But a free trade agreement—well, at some point in the future, a North American economic pact—is a seemingly inevitable."

For his part, Mulroney last week welcomed Mexico's interest in what he referred to as "new trading arrangements" with some of its neighbors. And a senior Canadian official told Mulroney the Canada is monitoring the U.S.-Mexico talks, although it does not plan to take an active role until it is invited to by Salinas. "At some point, Salinas will presumably stand up and say how he wants to proceed," the official said. "Until that happens, there is nothing for us to grab hold of." He added that it is still unclear whether Mexico favors a bilateral trade pact

THE INSIDE STORY

Number 1 in a series

TOURING



ONTARIO

By Knowlton Nash and
Lorraine Thomson

"Norwood is like Tom Sawyer's Days. You expect to see Huck Finn painting white picket fences," Lorraine Thomson. I spent a great part of my childhood on farms, out west and near Duaneville, Ontario. I wasn't "cityfied" until I was twelve. That's why I love Norwood because for me it's going back to the late 30's and 40's, what life was like when I lived on farms. Knowlton Nash: And I was a beach bum at the age of one month! We always lived on the south side of Queen Street in the Beaches (Toronto). Funny memories you have. For example, the old cement water fountains still to this day I can smell that cold water. You had the park to play in, where we always set off our Victoria Day fireworks for about a dollar and of course the beachwalk, near the Balmy Beach Casino Club. ☐ LT: I think these memories are part of the reason we enjoy going to Norwood—it's really a slice of quiet Ontario life. ☐ KN: We discovered Norwood, near Peterborough, through our kids, Frances and her husband Fred, who were looking for a country place not too far from Toronto. ☐ LT: It's extremely picturesque with a red roofed farmhouse. But every once and a while you spot a lake like Rice Lake off in the distance or the Trent Canal at Hazelton where you can wave at the boats going by. There are great fishing spots and certainly lots of water sports. We would take our grandchildren to the playground or the park and our oldest one, Jesse, to Scott's, the old mill pond. All the kids would dive off the dam on one side where the water would cascade over it. ☐ KN: It was exactly out of Tom Sawyer's days, in fact, the whole town is like that. You would expect to see Huck Finn painting the white picket fences. ☐ LT: Yes, gorgeous Victorian houses with gingerbread trim and a beautiful old church, kind of a halfway of the town. There is one main downtown street with a really nice restaurant called the Bluebird Cafe that made the best homemade cherry pie. ☐ KN: Essentially what it is for us is an escape from the rush and pressures of the big city. No car jacking around and you can even walk in the middle of the street. Outside the town is really farmland where we would take our grandchildren to see the cows and the farmers at work. ☐ LT: There are wonderful nature trails, especially in the fall and we would go off walking with Jesse on his tricycle. What I particularly like is the annual fall fair. Taking the kids on rides and eating all those freshly made goodies. Although Frances and Fred and the kids have since moved to Toronto, they still visit their friends in Norwood every year at that time. ☐ KN: Norwood, just east of Peterborough, is a great place to stop. A lot of teachers at Trent University live there and commute because they want that slightly bucolic, gentle way of life. You know, we have moved to the north. Bora Bora is beautiful and quiet too, but Norwood is only about two hours away. ☐ LT: But you have to wear mink clothes in Norwood, dear. ☐ KN: Yes, but again, it's the kind of clothes you can wear in Norwood—it's down home—it's old shoe.



Knowlton Nash is a senior correspondent for CBC Television. He is currently working on his fourth book that explores the food business. Frances Thomson is a former television producer, book author and journalist for CBC Television's *PARENTING CHALLENGES*. She is currently a member of the *Imagination and Religion* Board.

Knowlton Nash and Lorraine Thomson discovered NORWOOD and you can see the first signs of THE INSIDE STORY and more information on touring in Ontario call toll free 1-800-ONTARIO or in the Toronto area 961-4281 and T.D.D. 5915 961-4027.

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High noon in Calgary

Mulroney faces Alberta's fury over a tax

With a light snow falling, the setting was idyllic. In jeans and new cowboy boots and accompanied by his wife, Ms. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney stepped out of the hotel and stepped onto the 8,600-acre Moss Creek Ranch in Millville, Alta., 45 km south of Calgary. But the Prime Minister had larger objectives than simply showcasing his

on the executive of the Elk Island riding Conservative association. The group promptly demanded that the prime minister, Brian O'Keefe, vote against the tax. O'Keefe rejected that demand. But not O'Keefe's spokesman now says that they will work to replace him with another candidate before the next election.

In Ottawa, meanwhile, Liberal finance critic



Edmonton's Kilgour: suspension for the dissidents

knowledge of livestock. Facing continuing criticism of his government's proposed Goods and Services Tax, an indication to meet the new one per cent levy approached third and final reading in the Commons, the Prime Minister visited the heartland of anti-tax protest in an attempt to allay public opinion. And he left little doubt of his determination to make sure the unpopular tax, which is scheduled to take effect on Jan. 1. "We are going to sell it in Alberta and across the country," he vowed. "Just you hang around and watch."

In Ottawa, Finance Minister Michael Wilson also downplayed the government's resolve. With Commons consideration of the GST dropping on, Wilson imposed a two-day limit on further debate. The measure was intended to secure House approval of the bill and send it to the Senate this week. In response, the Liberal opposition threatened to use its majority in the upper house to delay the bill or prevent it from becoming law.

Meanwhile, the strains of introducing an unpopular tax began to show within Mulroney's own party. The Prime Minister publicly warned two maverick Alberta backbenchers that he would not tolerate dissension on the GST from his own MPs.

Still, he and Wilson clearly face a difficult task in trying to sell the tax to the country. Late in January, Gallup Canada reported that fully 74 per cent of Canadians expressed distaste for the tax—which would replace an existing 13.5-per-cent federal manufacturers sales levy, but would apply to a wider range of transactions. The tax is particularly unpopular in Alberta, the only province without its own retail sales tax, where the prospect of Ottawa imposing the first direct consumer tax has galvanized intense opposition. Alberta's 24 Conservative MPs are under particular acute pressure from lobby groups and fellow Tories to vote against the levy.

In one case in February, Edmonton-area opponents of the tax won a majority of positions

the Senate from among his own caucus also attracted Mulroney's attention last week. For months, Tory MPs David Kilgour of Edmonton and Calgary Alan Neely had made their dislike of the tax open secret. Indeed, both men have said that they will vote against the GST. But, on March 22, the Alberta wing of the Tory caucus voted the two dissidents that they had been suspended last week, Mulroney said that their outspoken criticism of the tax had led to the suspension.

Meanwhile, the Pro-Canada Network, a coalition of about 40 organizations opposed to the proposed tax, launched a new anti-GST campaign in association with the Canadian Labour Congress last week. It is a series of Canada-wide rallies of the city to sign cards distributed by union members in workplaces, shopping centres and other locations, and mail them to Ottawa.

"It will be another symbol of our total disgust with this tax," said Alvin Crutcher, an Edmonton accountant and spokesman for the group. "People will vote down the GST." And anti-GST organizations clearly welcome those prominent campaigns. Said Young:

"The one thing politicians will do is listen to the voice of the people if that voice is loud enough." Ultimately, it may take many more trips by Mulroney, like the one to Alberta, to convince a skeptical public to accept the divisive GST.

what it has opposed. In the past, that course of action has resulted in the government withdrawing the legislation—or allowing it to die on the order paper. Said Young: "We think the whole notion of the GST is unacceptable—so we will ask the Senate to block it."

For their part, Liberal senators have not yet indicated how they might respond to Young's request. But Senate banking committee chairman Sidney Riddell, a Liberal, said that his panel, which will study the bill before the Senate decides on any course of action, planned to hold cross-Canada hearings on the bill. The committee is under no obligation to report any deadline on its deliberations. But recent Times news that, in the event of a long delay by the Senate, they would keep both the House and

the Senate from removing the tax—was a tactic designed to pressure the upper house to pass the bill. The government could also argue that the GST legislation qualifies as a money bill—which, the Commons claims, the Senate has no constitutional authority to tinker with. But Riddell said that the government's own claim that the bill is a revenue control—and hence would not change the government's money supplies—would no longer be an attempt to designate the legislation as a money bill.

Conservative MP William Ivison has also said that Mulroney's action last week. For months, Tory MPs David Kilgour of Edmonton and Calgary Alan Neely had made their dislike of the tax open secret. Indeed, both men have said that they will vote against the GST. But, on March 22, the Alberta wing of the Tory caucus voted the two dissidents that they had been suspended last week, Mulroney said that their outspoken criticism of the tax had led to the suspension.

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LENA VON BERNER in Ottawa with
JOHN HODGINS in Calgary



Scene of violence in Sharpeville: the government promised to launch an inquiry into the police killings of 11 blacks

WORLD

A PROMISE MADE

It was late night, and their talks had clearly been exhausting, but both black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela and South African President F. W. de Klerk seemed elated. In separate statements last Thursday, they announced that plans for formal negotiations between the government and Mandela's African National Congress, suspended by the ANC a week earlier because of alleged police brutality, would continue. As well, both leaders agreed that the atmosphere at their first meeting since Mandela's release from jail two months ago had been remarkably friendly. Said the ANC leader: "The cordial nature of the discussions and the decisions made by both sides give us the impression that we are correct in sitting down with the government to explore a peaceful solution."

Some observers described that as an unexpectedly optimistic view of the prospects for negotiations on South Africa's constitutional future. But, on the edges of the country's political spectrum, the response was more polarized. Andries Treurnicht, leader

NELSON MANDELA AND PRESIDENT DE KLERK GET THEIR TALKS BACK ON TRACK DESPITE OPPOSITION

of the neo-apartheid opposition Conservative Party, bitterly attacked even the concept of black-white talks. "We won't negotiate the innegotiable—our freedom and our claim to the land," he declared. And Barney Deen, a regional co-ordinator for the equally extreme black Pro-Apartheid Congress, described the pending negotiations as "a lie to start on May 2, as a 'sell-out'." Said Deen: "The smell of appeasement is

thick in the air. It smells awful."

De Klerk made the critical concession that opened the way for rescheduling the opening of formal negotiations. He told Mandela that the government would launch an "in-depth" investigation into the killing of 11 blacks and the wounding of more than 400 others by police gunfire during a March 26 demonstration at Sharpeville, near Johannesburg. And he promised that at the next cabinet meeting he would propose the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry into the affair, which Mandela called "the massacre of innocent and defenceless people."

De Klerk was apparently careful not to concede that the police had, in fact, been guilty of brutality. But it is widely recognized that magis police expose his declared intention to abolish apartheid and acknowledge the black majority. And, in accepting de Klerk's understanding, Mandela appeared to signal that he understood that problem. In fact, insiders said that, when the commission is set up, it will include one or more anti-apartheid figures. Mandela also said that he and de Klerk had

made "very solid progress" on another theory issue, the one civil war between competing black factions in Natal province, in which about 3,000 people have died in the past 30 months. Although he evidently had doubts about the integrity of the police, the ANC leader approved the deployment of a large troop contingent to assist in quelling the violence between supporters of the ANC and that United Democratic Front, on the one hand, and the conservative Zulu-based organization, Inkatha, on the other.

Earlier last week, Mandela visited the battle zones around the Natal provincial capital, Pietermaritzburg. He later described it as a "heart-wrenching experience. Accompanied by a 50-car entourage of bodyguards, supporters and jour-

nals, he scheduled a series of meetings with the president of Natal, who was overthrown in a military coup the same day. It was the second homeland coup in little over a month, and many analysts said that it was a symptom of the growing demoralization of the homeland's leadership into a referendum South Africa. David Welsh, professor of political studies at the University of Cape Town, described the Natal coup as "the fall of another homeland domain, which effectively means the collapse of the grand apartheid system established in the 1960s and 1970s." DE Welsh said, an impoverished area on the Zimbabwe border, Welsh said "Since its inception in 1979, it has been a racist, authoritarian human republic."

De Klerk's first reaction to the failure of his attempt to recruit the homeland leaders was to blame it on the opposition by the ANC. Mandela denied the charge, and two of the alternatives backed the ANC leader. One of them, Chief Minister Mphahlele of Eastern Transvaal, declared: "The homeland system is illegitimate as a form of government. It promotes division and rule." Said Mandela: "We are prepared to forget the past and make everyone, who will help us to end apartheid." In the end, that spirit of compromise appeared to be the only hope for real peace in South Africa.

Mandela's 'solid progress'



JOHN BIERMAN with
CHRIS GRAMLIN in
Cape Town

set up by the white liberal Democratic Party reported that at least 1,400 people were either homeless or refugees.

Believe de Klerk began his talks with Mandela, he suffered a setback to his attempt to weaken the ANC's bargaining strength by bringing more unseparable black leaders into the negotiating process. The South African president had visited the leader of South Africa's six anti-apartheid black homelands in a meeting in Cape Town on Thursday morning. But only two of them arrived, and not of those. Side leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, insisted that he was there not as chief minister of the KwaZulu homeland, but in his capacity as the leader of the Inkatha movement.

Among the four homeland leaders who did not appear was Frank Ruess, president of Venda, who was overthrown in a military coup the same day. It was the second homeland coup in little over a month, and many analysts said that it was a symptom of the growing demoralization of the homeland's leadership into a referendum South Africa.

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World Notes

EAST GERMAN DEMOCRACY

In its opening session, East Germany's first freely elected parliament designated Lothar de Maiziere, 58, as prime minister and asked him to form a coalition government. De Maiziere's Christian Democrats had 40 seats for Germany was 49 percent of the vote in the March 18 elections. Both the parliament and government are expected to last only until another election in West Germany, which could occur as early as next year.

PRISON RISK CLAIMS TWO LIVES

Britain's worst jail riot in modern times, at Manchester's Strangeways Prison, cost at least two lives. At week-end, a few inmates continued to defy the authorities.

A DIABETIC THREAT

Irish President Seán Bheanainn announced that his country had banished chemical weapons and threatened to take half of itself if the Jewish state attacked it. The threat followed a March 24 attack on Lebanon's Hezbollah. Bheanainn said that he was triggering a nuclear weapon, which Britain and the United States accused Iraq of attempting to smuggle. Middle East tensions escalated further when the Arab League warned Israel that it was preparing to consider an attack on all 23 league members.

TALKING PEACE

In Geneva, negotiators for El Salvador's ruling war government and leftist rebels agreed to un-organized talks aimed at ending a bloody 11-year civil war in the Central American country. The two sides signed a seven-page document providing for an eventual ceasefire, steps towards full democracy, human rights and the legalization of the rebel Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front as a political party.

CRACKDOWN IN NEPAL

In the Himalayan kingdom of Nepal, soldiers fired on pro-democracy demonstrators, killing as many as 50 of them. King Birendra fired his private minister and dissolved the new cabinet that he formed on April 3 for failing to deal with swelling pro-democracy demonstrations.

TRAGEDY AT SEA

At least 110 people died and as many as 40 others were missing after a ship swept through a Danish fjord, the Scandinavian liner, in the North Sea. The captain, Hugo Larsen, said that he suspected arson. The vessel was carrying an estimated 150 passengers from Norway to Denmark.

THE UNITED STATES

A scent of fresh air

The Senate votes to cut acid rain and smog

For nearly a decade, intensive lobbying by oil-fired electric utilities and coal producers in the United States made acid rain, as it has been called, Canada-U.S. relations, one of the major obstacles to new environmental legislation. Concerned about the huge costs of a cleanup, their powerful allies in Congress blocked attempts to upgrade the Clean Air Act, which was first enacted in 1977. But, last week, the Senate finally broke the stalemate. Casting aside bitter regional differences, the chamber voted 99 to 11 to pass a bill that could dramatically cut acid rain, as well as smog and other chemicals in the air. Declared a triumph, Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, "thinks tomorrow victory for the American people, who can look forward to cleaner air for decades to come."

The package of clean-air measures strikes a compromise between opposing political controls passed by a Senate committee last year and a weaker plan proposed by President George Bush's administration. The new legislation was hammered out between Senate and White House negotiators. Last week's vote ended the non-coastal battleground to the House of Representatives, where, two days later, the energy and commerce committees quickly approved a slightly tougher bill by a 40-to-1 vote, clearing the way for debate by the full chamber in the next week. "So far, so good," said Michael Perley, executive co-ordinator of the Toronto-based Canadian Coalition on Acid Rain. In Washington to monitor congressional action, he added, "The sky is still moving straight ahead, and there are no surprises at night."

The Senate legislation will cut industry air emissions \$25 billion annually. And it met Bush's demand for moderate legislation that would uphold his campaign pledge

to be the "environment president," but not cripple American industry. "The Senate bill is a major step forward," Bush said last week. "We're going to work to ensure that the bill produced by the House does not compromise



Polluting vehicles. Mitchell (below) looking forward to cleaner air in the decade to come



the environmental benefits or the economic balance." For Canada, the Senate bill signals a welcome breakthrough in the battle against acid rain, a scourge that environmentalists say has killed 14,000 Canadian lakes. Said Perley: "We have got the lion's share of what we need." The Senate bill calls for increased power plants, cut of clean to the northeastern states, to reduce annual emissions of sulfur dioxide, a primary cause of acid rain, by 38 million tons by the year 2000, from a total of 119 million tons now emitted.

Partly because Ottawa officials have been vociferous advocates of tough emission controls, the debate in the Senate included a measure of anti-Canadian sentiment. Like Senator James McClellan, for one sought to see elec-

tricity imports from Canada subject to limits and the provisions implement state-to-state laws similar to the American bill. The amendment was defeated.

The debate also pitted senators from heavily industrialized states, which will be hardest hit by the stringent legislation, against senators from so-called clean states who said that they did not want to pay for someone else's sins. Democratic Senator Robert Byrd, whose West Virginia constituency is a major coal producer, made an impassioned plea for a \$600-million package to aid coal miners and southwestern states. Byrd appealed for justice for coal miners. "No longer the worst, the toll, the back-breaking pain of a day of work and we know the dangers of the black dust and the dark

subterranean caverns of the earth" his proposal was defeated by a slender 50-to-49 margin.

Those battles will likely continue in the House. Last week, industry representatives said that they will fight to water down anti-pollution controls. Environmentalists, meanwhile, said that they would push for an even tougher law. "With the debate now coming to the House of Representatives," said American Lung Association lobbyist Paul De Mille, "the association will be working to get 'clean' back into the Clean Air Act."

Whatever the outcome, a committee from the Senate and the House will have to work out a final piece of legislation to present to Bush. And if the House rights for particularly harsh legislation, there is still a danger that he may veto the entire package. Clearly, the bill does major battles before it becomes law. But last week's votes moved closer together legislation—and Canadian hopes for relief from acid rain—on important steps closer to reality.

BILLY MACKENZIE in Washington



Soviet troops and Lithuanians scuffling in Vilnius party office: intimidation

THE SOVIET UNION

A Baltic standoff

Lithuanian unrest threatens U.S.-Soviet ties

Soviet tank commanders staged almost daily maneuvers in Lithuania last week, clearly trying to intimidate the Baltic republic into accepting last week's disastrous declaration of independence. Machine-gun-carrying Soviet soldiers occupied the prosecutor's office in Vilnius, the capital, evicting all but the cleaning staff. The Soviet army began shadowing ships in the Baltic Sea, presumably to prevent direct mass deliveries to Lithuanian nationalists. And Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev threatened nuclear action against Estonia, although that republic has been much more cautious in efforts to regain its independence. Still, Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, on a visit to Washington, apparently managed to convince U.S. officials of the Kremlin's good intentions. Secretary of State James Baker said that he was satisfied that Moscow's "response of choice is dialogue." Then, the White House announced that President George Bush would have a summit with Gorbachev from May 30 to June 8.

Since the Lithuanian crisis began last month, U.S. officials had repeatedly warned Moscow that the current impasse on Soviet influence in the Baltic republics. And after Shevardnadze's accidental visit, Congress passed a resolution urging Bush to begin normal diplomatic relations with Lithuania "at the earliest possible time." But Bush sides said that the Soviet actions in the Baltics did not justify delaying the

summit, which is expected to address a wide range of issues, from arms control to German reunification. Still, on Friday, Bush took a tough stand on Lithuania. Said the President, "I told Mr. Shevardnadze that this is an issue that absolutely affects the prospect of progress in these important U.S.-Soviet relations. I urge the Soviet Union to begin a good-faith dialogue with Lithuania."

During his Washington visit, Shevardnadze was followed by protesters with Lithuanian flags, chanting "Not yet, Soviet." But he declared that Moscow had a "clear conscience" about its treatment of the Lithuanian people. However, in Canada, visiting Lithuanian Vice-President Bronius Krasiunas said that the Kremlin's pressure tactics amounted to "a violent use of force." He added, "Acts of the Soviet army gradually take over various buildings and institutions and thus attempt to suppress those forces which are opposed to the establishment of Lithuanian independence."

Those actions forced the Lithuanians to assume a more combative attitude. Ignas Kabanaitis, the republic's envoy in Moscow, said that Lithuanian leaders are "prepared to defend or respond to any provocations" except the March 11 independence declaration. Even that could be subject to a referendum, which the Soviets have demanded, he said. At the same time, a Lithuanian delegation conferred in Moscow with Alexander Yakovlev, Gorbachev's closest Politburo ally, but failed to gain approval for formal talks to end the standoff.

Afterwards, the Lithuanian parliament made a personal appeal to Gorbachev. It declared in a resolution: "We understand that Lithuania's declaration to restore her place among the independent states causes concern to the Soviet Union. Therefore, we propose holding without delay bilateral consultations aimed at clarifying the positions of both sides."

A parliamentary spokesman in Vilnius said that the legislators showed their desire for compromise by granting 10 requests the Soviet Government, which they had earlier discarded as unreasonable.

They also assured Gorbachev that they did not wish to sever economic or cultural ties. But, according to the Soviet news agency Tass, Yakovlev told the Lithuanians that a dialogue could only start after "on the basis of the situation as of March 11"—that is, their declaration of independence.

The Baltic republic of Estonia, which Lithuania was closely allied with by the Soviet Union in 1940, has been much more careful in its efforts to regain independence. On March 20, its parliament declared the start of an indefinite transition period during which it hopes to negotiate secession from Moscow. But the carefully phrased sovereignty resolution expressly did not anger Gorbachev. Arnold Kuusik, the Estonian president, said that Gorbachev was "broadly satisfied" during a telephone conversation on April 3. He quoted the Soviet leader as saying that he regarded Estonia's action to be the same as Lithuania's, and that he would respond "in the same way."

Lithuania, the third Baltic republic, is likely to declare its independence next month. "Our goal is an independent party and an independent Lithuanian state," says Bronius Krasiunas, a Communist leader in Riga, the capital. Soviet opposition to Lithuania's request for independence may be even stronger than it has been with Estonia, because half its residents are ethnic Russians.

At week's end, Gorbachev remained firm as he appeared to give concessions to the Baltics. And earlier, the Soviet parliament passed a law that would require approval by two-thirds of the residents in any republic that wants to secede as well as a five-year transitional period to settle economic, economic and legal problems. Nikolai Mikhovets, a member of the Lithuanian parliament, said: "This isn't a law of secession. It's a law about secession."

BOLLEGE JENSEN and ANTHONY WOLSH SMITH in Moscow and JILLARY MACKENZIE in Washington



COVER

THE JEWS

ANTI-SEMITISM
IS ON THE RISE
IN THE SOVIET
UNION AND
EASTERN EUROPE

In the middle of a crowd of silent, despondent Jews on a downtown Moscow street last week, 69-year-old Yehuda Urasovsky wept unashamedly. Usually, he said, tears do not come easily to him. A decorated veteran of the Second World War, Urasovsky is a small, erect, reserved man who says that he has "learned to take the beat with the good." But recently, he said, the occasional anti-Semitic insult that he had grown accustomed to have become more frequent and vulgarized. On one occasion this month, a teenage boy on the subway spat on his bearded coat and said, "Jew, go back to Israel!" Some bystanders laughed. After that, Urasovsky and his wife, who have career before been outside of the country, made a decision. Last week, he joined the crowd at the Netherlands Embassy, which processes emigration requests to Israel. Said Urasovsky, as tears streamed down his lined face: "I ended my life

as a Jew—and now I see that everywhere." The Urasovskys are among the modern victims of a rising anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, the statement that has stained history for generations.

Sights: Around the world, the manifestations of anti-Semitism have ranged from common slights to blatant discrimination to the ultimate horror of the Holocaust. In the Soviet Union, where Jews have been the victims of hatred at various times before and after the 1917 revolution, current forces may so far exceed the weight of facts. But the evidence is diverse and disturbing—rabid hate groups, threatening phone calls, accessory magazine articles. Paradoxically, anti-Semitism has re-emerged at a time when, under Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, Soviet Jews have been allowed greater freedom to practice their religion and preserve their culture. But although most Soviet Jews praise Gorbachev's

Soviet Jews (left) ultra-nationalist Pamyat demonstrators; threatening phone calls and accessory magazine articles

reform programs, they note that pleasant has had a troubling side effect. "It is good that people are no longer afraid to speak their minds," said Vladimir Polovynsky, president of Moscow's Jewish Community Board and the Chuvstvennoye Synagogue. "But the hidden hate against us is now coming into the open."

Fellets: The same pattern is evident in many of the former Soviet satellites of East and Central Europe, where anti-Semitism is also on the increase: often as a byproduct of rampant nationalism (page 24). In the Soviet Union, a country increasingly riven by domestic chaos and ethnic strife, Jews have recently been blamed for everything from destroying communism to creating communism as the first place.

Confronted with such criticism, many Soviet Jews, taking advantage of Gorbachev's stated migration policies, have chosen to leave. Although the United States has been the preferred destination, in October, 1988, President George Bush's administration imposed a quota of 50,000 Soviet refugees a year. The result has been what Bush last week called a "modern conflict" to Israel. This year the number of Soviet immigrants to the Prossed land is likely to exceed 150,000, up from about 15,000 last year (page 28).

Some concerned observers say that even those numbers

are not enough. Last week in Paris, a group of intellectuals known as "Rassemblement," including Nobel Peace Prize laureate Elie Wiesel, called on the United States, Britain and France to take in more Soviet Jews. Citing widespread rumors of a pogrom—an organized massacre—of Jews, allegedly planned for Moscow and Leningrad on May 5, French minister Antoine Sfez said, "Jews are living in a permanent state of fear and anxiety that pogroms will happen again." Leon Schindler, president of the Canadian Jewish Congress, issued a similar warning: "We perceive the Jews in the Soviet Union to be in danger," he said. "We seriously wish to think that history can repeat itself."

Schindler said that his organization plans to ask Ottawa officials to help expedite the investigation of Soviet Jews in Canada. According to External Affairs officials, 479 Soviet immigrants arrived last year, compared with 245 in 1984 and the department is enlarging its six-member immigration staff at the Moscow embassy to process applications more swiftly.

Many analysts play down the possibility of widespread violence against Soviet Jews. But Moscow officials concede a sharp increase in support in the past year for Pamyat (Memory), a Russian-nationalist group that allies massive strong anti-Semitic, statu-

ments—and which is believed to be behind the pogrom rumors. In Moscow and Leningrad, many Jews have recently received anonymous phone calls threatening a pogrom. In other instances, a group of about 50 people stormed a meeting of a liberal writers' group in January and beat many participants. The weekly newspaper Opyat said that the attackers called the writers "kretzy," a derogatory term for Jews, and threatened to return with guns.

Jewish clubs and businesses have also been targeted. Over the past two years, Jewish associations in Moscow and Leningrad have been repeatedly vandalized. Joseph Berenson, the owner of Moscow's only Jewish-owned restaurant, said that in recent weeks two of his vans and three cars have been torched as anti-Semitic attacks. "Whenever our country faces difficulties," declared Berenson, "they blame Jews."

Poll: Further signs of deepening anti-Jewish feeling are contained in a recent poll financed by the American Jewish Congress and conducted by the Soviet Academy of Sciences. The poll of respondents of Moscow, considered one of the most liberal of Soviet cities, found that 44 per cent of respondents said that anti-Semitism is growing. At the same time, 74 per cent of respondents said that the government should do more to fight anti-Jewish feeling. But only 18 per cent of respondents said that they think Jews, and 23 per cent said they agreed with the statement that "Jews have too much influence over Russian culture."

In fact, the estimated 3.5 million Jews make up less than one per cent of the total Soviet population of 260 million. But throughout his-

Fedorovskiy 'Whittles hate'



'THIS SENSE OF AN INCIPIENT POGROM IS SPREADING LIKE WILDFIRE'

tery, they have often been singled out for special, unpleasant treatment. In eastern Russia, Jews were restricted to a western section of the country known as the "Pale of Settlement" and were often subjected to beatings, robberies and murders. In 1816, nine years before according to the throne, Czar Nicholas I described Jews as "half-bred creatures."

Even since the revolution of the Soviet Union more than 70 years ago, its successive leaders have displayed sharply conflicting attitudes towards Jews. In 1918, Soviet leader

Vladimir Lenin rejected Lenin's offer to succeed him because he worried that his Jewish roots would hurt the consequent cause. The document quoted Trotsky as saying, "It would be far better if there was not a single Jew in the first Soviet revolutionary government."

Under Lenin's successor, Josef Stalin, Soviet policy gradually moved towards somewhat anti-Semitic shortly before Stalin's death in 1953, the Soviet press reported the existence of what it called the "Doctors' Plot," allegedly a plan by some Moscow physicians to

supply anywhere such political and other risks as they have in our country." That remark stirred Jews, who feared that existing restrictions on their religious activities would be maintained. But, said Fania Felder, an official with the countryside Union of Synagogues, "Gorbachev's policy towards Jews has been exemplary."

In fact, both Jews and Soviet authorities cite multiple signs of the recent welcome attitude. Last year, a Jewish cultural center opened in Moscow, the first anywhere in the country in more than 50 years. The Soviet Academy of Sciences and Jewish philanthropists from Western countries continued to open the country's first school of Jewish studies since the Stalin era. In the 112 areas of the nation, with significant Jewish communities, many are being allowed to open, or reopen, synagogues for the first time since the 1930s.

At Moscow's Chornokape Synagogue, one of two in the city, organizers have started an elementary school that should 50 Jewish children now attend. Along with regular subjects, they study Hebrew and Jewish history. The inside of the synagogue, a 112-year-old building on Arkharskaya Street, reflects the devastation, the grandeur of a place that has been involved with much more but little money. From 1916 to 1917, daily, hundreds of Jews died in search of fresh meat based from the bakery, a meal in the kosher kitchen, and spiritual and material assistance. Said Felder: "If you want to know whether a Jewish community survives, look at home. We live a whole different world under Gorbachev."

Charges. At the same time, government authorities now publicly condemn anti-Semitic acts. When anti-Jewish pamphlets were distributed in the Ukrainian city of Odessa in January, the local Communist party chief denounced the actions. And Soviet authorities filed criminal charges in February against members of the nationalist group Pamyat, accusing them of "inciting national and racial hatred and strife."

The case has not yet gone to court.

Little is known about the size or influence of Pamyat, whose members wear black paramilitary-style T-shirts or army gauds. But Jewish leaders say that the rumors about the shadowy group are what create its greatest power to terrify. The most widespread of these is that all candidates wishing to join must supply the names and addresses of the Jews in their area, presumably for future harassment. Last month, Gipsel, one of the most vocal of Soviet publications, published a letter from an unnamed Jewish woman who was planning to emigrate because of threats from Pamyat. "Quite frankly, I am afraid of you," wrote the woman. "Congratulations, you have won."

Many Soviet Jews say that tougher government measures are needed to turn back the rising tide of anti-Semitism. Some also caution that sympathetic public statements by Soviet officials risk a Jewish backlash. "The new policies make it easier for Jews to leave," declared Rita Tsukhan, a 30-year-old office worker from the Ukrainian region of Donetsk. "But they do nothing to ease the lives



Jews worshipping in Georgian synagogue: insults are a routine part of life

Vladimir Lenin signed a decree that outlawed anti-Semitism. Many of the leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution, including Lenin's close aide Leon Trotsky, were Jewish. Soviet authorities in the 1930s established an area in eastern Siberia that they called the Jewish Autonomous Region. Now, it is still formally reserved for Jews. But only a small minority of its residents are even nominally Jewish, and Soviet officials privately acknowledge that the region's existence has been used largely for propaganda.

Even in the early days of the Soviet Union, some Jews clearly bore anti-Semitic attitudes. A recent study by Soviet historian Victor Davison, using a previously unpublished document, said that

kill high-ranking government officials. Most of the doctors implicated were Jewish, and the charges served as a pretext for launching an anti-Jewish purge. Stalin's successor, Nikita Khrushchev, later said that this plot was nonexistent and that Stalin had engineered the charge. Nevertheless, now-discredited leader Leonid Brezhnev placed severe restrictions on Jewish emigration and closed many synagogues. But eventually, anti-Semitism faded. Statements of the current leadership of secretly collaborating with Zionism.

Alarm. Gorbachev's attitude towards Soviet Jews appears to have changed in recent years. Shortly after he became leader in 1985, he told a French interviewer, "I would be glad to hear of Jews



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COVER

of those who wish to stay." Said Sheila Gidlov, a 37-year-old housewife: "Every day, at least one co-worker says to me, 'Gidlov, Jew, you are not out of it!'"

New Russians are leading old hatreds. The nation has been shaken by a deepening economic crisis, including worsening shortages of food and consumer items, as well as by the agitation of independence movements in Lithuania and other republics. The Jews have proved to be convenient scapegoats. In some cities the search for someone to blame has disclosed friendships. Goumy Ruzman, a 45-year-old Moscow Jew who has spent the past three years working in Poland, returned recently to find that his best friend from childhood had severed ties with him. Ruzman said that the intense friend cited consumer shortages, telling him, "I have heard all about how you Jews hoard everything away for yourselves."

Hebrew: As well, the new freedom of the media has permitted a wider exchange of views, and Jews say that some have been decidedly unpleasant. Last November, the conservative Moscow-based magazine *Nash Sovetsk* ran an excerpt from a book, *Russophobia*, in which the author, Igor Shchegolev, said that Jews have "no common roots with Russia and since childhood [have] absorbed a hatred for everything Russian."

Some analysts express doubts that such statements will lead to anti-Semitic pogroms. Irwin Gidlov, a law professor at McGill University in Montreal and the international legal adviser to the Confederation of Jewish Communities and Organizations in the Soviet Union, said that he does not take the threat of a



Soviet Jewish immigrant in Israeli narrow and smoggy

pogrom on May 5 very seriously. He said that similar outbreaks presented in the past have not materialized. "No article," Gidlov said, "has sense of an imminent pogrom is spreading like wildfire. There are now whole communities seeking to emigrate."

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guaranteed home in Israel. The only other such privileged people are ethnic-Germans, who can move to Germany if they can prove their roots. **Resentment:** In any case, many Jews who leave the Soviet Union do so reluctantly. Often, they do not speak foreign languages and have little money saved because the Soviet ruble is not convertible to Western currencies. And because their religion was suppressed for so long, some Soviet Jews are only nominally religious. Those bound for life in Israel often express concerns about how they will fit into a country where the entire society is defined by religion. Ashel Gidlov, 37-year-old, a 37-year-old Moscow woman: "In Israel, will I have to go to worship every day?"

For both the Jews who leave and those who stay behind, there is another consideration. Konstantin Brumel, a 49-year-old Jewish engineer from Moscow, recently decided to leave for Israel. Brumel is, like Umanets, a decorated veteran of the Second World War who said that he had never planned to emigrate. "I have always thought myself a Russian first and a Jew second," Brumel said. But now, he added, "my neighbors make it clear they see things the other way around." When he leaves next month for Israel, he declared, "my heart will be broken—I have lived a hard life but not a Jew one." For Soviet Jews, on an emotion born of sorrow and anger, that emotional legacy is hard to forgive—and impossible to forget.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH with
BYRONNE PILLON in Moscow and
DAVID HENKIN in Israel

EXODUS TO THE PROMISED LAND

Just two hours after they landed at Ben-Gurion International Airport on March 24, Kibbutz Bnei Shimon and their seven-year-old daughter, Anna, got the full taste of Israeli hospitality. Challenged to an Israeli army radio station in Tel Aviv, the Jewish emigrants from Moscow took part in a special phone-in program, telling listeners about their hopes for a better life in their adopted country. Gidlov is the program's host. The broadcast and a total of 26,000 other Jewish newcomers—almost two-thirds of the number of immigrants who have arrived over the past year—in their homes. The welcome: the traditional Shema used on the eve of Passover, April 9, including marking the exodus of Israelites from slavery in Egypt in the 13th century BC. "There is an atmosphere of euphoria," said Gidlov. "This is what brought me and my family to Israel."

newcomer for the Jewish Agency, which organized the radio show and arranged transportation to Israel. But, some of Jews brought growing anti-Semitism to the Soviet Union, they faced open hostility from Middle East Arabs. Jewish experts say that they detect an element of panic in the ever-increasing numbers of Jewish newcomers. 700,000 of whom are expected to arrive in Israel over the next six years. "The Jews [in the Soviet Union], especially in the Moscow area, feel threatened," said Michael Agur, a lecturer at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. "There is a terrible economic situation. There could be a civil war and anarchy." But new arrival Anatoly Zaslavsky maintains that, so far, anti-Semitic violence in the Soviet Union is more rumor than reality. "We were never attacked," said Zaslavsky. "But under [President Mikhail] Gorbachev, people were putting more emphasis on their regional identity. We wanted Jewish culture, Jewish literature, Jewish music. This is what brought me and my family to Israel."

Arabs say that the newcomers threaten the balance of power in the region. But, despite their complaints, Israeli ministers that less than one per cent of the newcomers have settled in the occupied West Bank and Golan Strip, where Palestinians are wary of a 75-month-old presence for a handful of their own. But, the chairman, Yasser Arafat has called the influx of Soviet Jews a "demographic time bomb." As well, President Saddam Hussein of Iraq told a recent meeting of Arab foreign ministers, "The immigrants are strengthening the aggressive capability of Israel whenever they live, inside the occupied territory or within the sphere of influence of the Zionist entity." For the Palestinians and other Soviet Jews, life in the Promised Land does not promise an end to anti-Semitic sentiments.

ANDREW SALUKI with ERIC SILVER in Jerusalem

NEW OPENNESS, OLD HATRED

ANTI-SEMITISM STALKS EASTERN EUROPE

On a bus shelter in Budapest, a campaign poster for the Alliance of Free Democrats, whose membership includes several prominent Jewish intellectuals, is defaced with black letters, "Yids." Hanging on East Germaners' every city in Leipzig, hundreds of blackboard goose-step onto the scene shouting "Stay alert!" and "to hell with the Jews!" In the Polish industrial city of Katowice, three Jewish families decide to emigrate to Israel after their children are the targets of ethnic slurs in kindergarten. Among the libraries now available to the people of the formerly Communist countries of Eastern and Central Europe is the freedom to express open ethnic fantasies and hatred. And in Poland's New-berlin Bielefeld, a Jewish family last week, "With desecration, nationalist groups are finding the deluge of violence, and it's the Jews."

Revelous: There has been no anti-Semitic violence on the scale of last month's riotous clashes in Trier, Germany, in which Romanians took to the streets to attack members of the Hungarian minority to death. But, with memories of the Nazi Holocaust still fresh in their minds, East Jews clearly fear that the antisemitic and xenophobic lobby to accompany a chequered to a market economy will be unleashing hatred. Said Rabin Zaidi, Mayor of Budapest, a candidate for the Alliance of Free Democrats in Hungary's March elections: "Anti-Semitism can only have succeeded, but now you can hear and feel it more."

In East Germany, members of the almost invisible Jewish population, estimated at between 6,000 and 10,000, still qualify as wage-slaves, along with Vietnamese students and Polish workers. Anti-Semitism is particularly noticeable in the postwar years, around the cities of Leipzig, Dresden and Erfurt. Members of Erfurt's tiny Jewish community have complained about anonymous hate phone calls: one householder was warned that "the ovies of

Bucharest are still waiting for you."

Whether such incidents will increase or dwindle after East Germany joins West Germany, which has a Jewish population estimated at 30,000, is still unclear. One hopeful sign is that support for West Germany's racist, far-right Republican Party dropped by 50 per cent in Bavarian regional elections last month. On the other hand, German Silverwood-Solov



East German neo-Nazis in Leipzig: goose steps and phony calls

Levitz, 67, a Polish-born Roman Catholic who survived the Auschwitz death camp and now lives in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., said that when he visited Munich last summer, he found blatantly anti-Semitic publications, as well as several neo-Nazi groups on municipal councils. "Some people consider this the hardest thing," added Silverwood-Solov, "but I consider them innocuous."

Slippery: Elsewhere in the former Communist bloc, re-emerging anti-Semitism is also evident. Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa recently acknowledged his country's anti-Semitic past, but promised that "it will not be tolerated" in the future. Although anti-Semitic sentiments are often openly expressed in con-

versations, the Solidarity-led government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki has made efforts to enhance the position of Poland's Jewish community, which numbers about 7,000 compared with a prewar population of 3.5 million. In recent months, Mazowiecki's ruling coalition has renewed diplomatic relations with Israel after a 33-year hiatus, acted on a long dispute between the Polish church and world Jewry over the location of a covenant of Auschwitz, and encouraged a modest Jewish cultural revival.

Czechoslovakia also recently restored relations with Israel, leading visiting Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens to declare, "We are at the beginning of a new story." As well, the government of ex-dissident playwright Václav Havel has sent Jews as ambassadors to both Washington and Moscow. But, at the grassroots level, synagogues and Jewish cemeteries have been desecrated. A Czech writer of Jewish origin, who asked to remain anonymous, said, "There is aggression, an attitude of some people towards the country's estimated 10,000 Jews. We do get called 'dirty Jews' occasionally," said the writer, "but it's a general aggression against [Jews] who managed to survive the way they went through under the old regime."

Prejudice: In Romania, the deterioration of synagogues and cemeteries has been more widespread than anywhere in the region. In the Transylvanian city of Arad, where tension is high between ethnic Romanians and Romanian nationalists, retired leader Zoran Medvedev said recently, "All prejudices are resurfacing once again, including anti-Semitism. God help you if you are Hungarian and Jewish." Romanians, Jews are often accused of collaborating with the regime of the executed Communist dictator, Nicolae Ceausescu, which also wrote Soviet Bloc did not sever relations with Israel after the 1967 Middle East war. Romanian Chief Rabin Moses Rouse and the Israeli government were eager

to obtain exit permits for Romania's 100,000 Jews. And between 1987 and 1988, 100,000 of these emigrated to Israel. In contrast, Israel paid Romania an estimated \$70 million. Clearly, the collapse of the Communist regimes, which kept a tight lid on overt ethnic hatred, has raised new concerns for the Jews of Eastern and Central Europe. But, for all their self-founded worries, says Rabin Zaidi of Budapest, "even the worst democracy is better for Jews than the best dictatorship."

JOHN FORBESMAN with PAMELA CLARK in Budapest, JOHN HOLLAND in East Berlin, SUE MUELLERMAN in Prague, BOGDAN TUDOR in Warsaw and MARK KENNETH in Toronto

BIGOTRY'S NEW FACE

ANTI-SEMITISM IN CANADA HAS CHANGED

The two-day rally last July 1 and 2 was billed as the "Save Our Canada Day Festival." A leader advertising the event was addressed to "white supremacists and skinheads," and described the setting as "the white man's mission since Hitler, Odessa." Besides attracting skinheads, from as far away as Montreal and New York City, the rally also brought a contingent of 78 Jewish activists to the Ontario resort town of Minden, 230 km northeast of Toronto. Mark Sandler, a Toronto lawyer and national chairman of the First British League for Human Rights, said that the Jewish delegation held a demonstration in downtown Minden to focus public attention on the skinhead rally, which turned out to be a low-key, openly staged affair. The Jewish group also sought to draw attention to a growing number of anti-Semitic incidents occurring across Canada.

Safe haven: "Hateful anti-Semitism is no longer acceptable in mainstream Canada. But there's still significant, deep-seated prejudice against Jews."

Resilient: Since 1982, the First British League has published an annual cross-Canada index of anti-Jewish incidents involving harassment of individuals and vandalism against property. The latest report, released in mid-February, showed that there were 170 reported incidents in Canada in 1989, up from 112 in 1988 and 55 in 1987 of the previous two years. Jewish said that vandalism against Jewish property is frequently the result of skinhead youths, some of whom express white-supremacist and anti-Semitic views. Said Rabin Zaidi, senior scholar at Toronto's Holy Synagogue Temple: "This is a very serious problem. The worst danger of neo-Semitism is not observable."

Several prominent Jewish community leaders contend that anti-Semitism in Canada has changed during the past three decades. They say that traditional



Abelie: a grim episode when the government turned away Jewish wartime refugees

of forms of discrimination, in which Jews were denied housing, education, club memberships or employment on the basis of their ethnicity, have almost disappeared. But new anti-Semitic attacks have arisen in the form of theories that draw the historical fact of the Nazi Holocaust.

First the "racist disease" survives



During the Second World War, in which an estimated six million Jews died. Legal battles involving two proponents of the Holocaust denial theory, former Alberta teacher James Keegstra and Toronto publisher Elmer Zaidi, have reached the Supreme Court of Canada in attempts to prove their claims. Said Sandler: "These people are well-educated, and they are not racist leaders."

Reports of anti-Semitism are frequent across the country. Most tell of Jewish minority groups rocked by two racial incidents. These incidents were charged with assault on March 24 after starting a fight and pulling anti-Semitic slogans at a private home party that was attended by Jewish youths. A week later, vandals smashed down 60 windows in the city's Barons De Haras Cemetery and defaced at least six others with swastikas and skinhead slogans. Said Michael Crevier, executive director of the Canadian Jewish Congress's Quebec branch: "These events can only be seen as destructive, divisive, violent, venom."

Harshly: When the individuals responsible for such acts are charged and convicted, the courts have demonstrated that they are prepared to deal decisively with them. In mid-March, Ontario provincial court Judge Charles Scullion sentenced 20-year-old Zaidi of Toronto to six months in jail after the second case

pleaded guilty to three charges that involved defacing a synagogue. Latus was also ordered to pay \$1,430 in restitution. But Jewish community activists who observed the case said that they were dismayed when the judge took to the court for the return of property, including a Star flag, anti-semitic literature and Ko Klux Klan material, that police had seized. The court turned them down.

On the West Coast, at least three Vancouver Jewish congregations have begun to use either security guards or closed-circuit TV cameras to protect their synagogues following a rash of anti-Semitic incidents in British Columbia during the past two years. The Shalom Tardiel and the Chabad Lubavitch synagogues in Vancouver now have cameras above their main entrances, with notices in the notice: "The Beth Israel Synagogue posts security guards at the front and back entrances during high-holiday ceremonies, including Rosh Hashana and Sukkot. Despite such precautions, vandalism occurred at a recent at the Beth Israel Synagogue on March 12."

Backlash: Jewish leaders cite several disturbing trends behind the rise in anti-Semitic activities. First said that there has been a widespread backlash in Canada against black and Asian immigrants. He added that, whenever public opinion becomes hostile towards minorities generally, Jews tend to be singled out and victimized as a result. Michael Prato, national director of anti-semitism relations with the Canadian Jewish Congress, said that general economic uncertainty and the tight-money policies of both federal and provincial governments have created anxieties that allow bigotry to flourish.

Some officials in Jewish organizations say that the growing number of isolated attacks on Jews and on Jewish property represent an awareness threat that is all the more public opinion. Although attacks are described by most experts as merely as religious incursions, a small minority of them have begun to assault the white-supremacist, anti-Semitic ideology and racist traditions of the American neo-Nazi movement, said Lorne Segerson, Ontario regional director for the White Birch League. At the same time, he added, some individuals who have long been associated with avowedly racist organizations are now being seen as having been attempting to recruit blackheads.

Holocaust-denial and Jewish-conspiracy theories represent another unusual form of anti-Semitism, according to Sandler. Proponents deny that the Holocaust happened and claim that there is an international conspiracy among Jews to use their power as bankers, doctors, the media and other professions to take over the world. Declared Sandler: "This is a very sophisticated form of anti-Semitism. These people say, 'We're not against Jews. We're the winners.' They are among the most virulent hate-mongers."

One of the best-known Canadian advocates of these theories is James Keegstra, a former high-school teacher from Bowville, Alta., 190 km northwest of Calgary. The Alberta Court of Queen's Bench convicted him in 1982

of wilfully promoting hatred against the Jews by telling his students that the Holocaust never happened. The Alberta Court of Appeal overturned the conviction in 1984, partly because it violated the freedom of expression guaranteed by the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Then, last December, the provincial attorney general appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada to have the conviction upheld. The final decision is pending.



Zandil: a more circuitous route through the courts

The Zandil case has taken an even more circuitous route through the courts. The Ontario district court convicted him in 1985 of spreading false news by publishing a 30-page pamphlet entitled *Did Six Million Really Die?* But the Ontario Court of Appeal overturned that decision in 1987 on technical grounds. Then, in May 1988, the district court tried and convicted him again. The Appeal Court upheld that decision in February 1990. Zandil has since appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada to have his conviction overturned, arguing that it violates his right to freedom of speech. That court has refused a do-over.

Rate: Meanwhile, in New Brunswick, because of the problems in obtaining a conviction under the hate and propaganda sections of the Criminal Code, the provincial government is attempting to bring Moslems high school

teacher Malcolm Ross before a human rights tribunal. Ross has published four books, including *Who of David* depicting the Holocaust and supporting the Jewish-conspiracy theory. The *Anti-Semite*, a businessman and a member of the Montreal Jewish community, filed the actual complaint against Ross with the provincial human rights board. Ross has delayed the hearing several times through court challenges, but it is now scheduled to proceed next month.

Many times in the past, Jewish Canadians have had to contend with pervasive discrimination. In his new book, entitled *A Cost of Many Colors*, Toronto historian Irving Abella traces a 1938 study by the Canadian Jewish Congress that documented discrimination against Jews in private Ontario. At the time, Abella writes, banks, insurance companies and department stores routinely excluded Jews from employment. Most law firms would not hire Jewish lawyers, hospitals would not accept Jewish doctors, and universities and clubs refused to admit Jewish students.

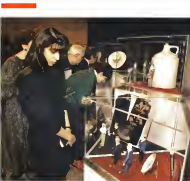
Grin: Abella writes that a particularly grim episode in Canadian history occurred in June, 1939, after a ship loaded with more than 900 German Jewish refugees was turned away by officials at several ports in Latin America and the United States. Despite pleas from Canadian Jews to accept the refugees, then-Prime Minister Mackenzie King declared that the refugees "were not a Canadian problem." The ship returned to Europe, where many of the refugees died as a result of Nazi persecution.

New Brunswick, a law professor at Moncton's McGill University and a past president of the Canadian Jewish Congress, said that abductees have moved an old form of anti-Jewish hostility by attacking synagogues and cemeteries. The emergence of Holocaust-denial and Jewish-conspiracy theories represents a new and more frightening type of anti-Semitism. "The day returned of anti-Semitism against Jews is people by denying their collective anxiety and suffering," said Cohen. And for many Jews, added Cohen, the new anti-Semitism is as painful and potentially dangerous as the old forms of this ancient disease.

D'ARCY JENNIFER and TERRY COLOD are Vancouver, JOHN ANNE is Calgary, GEORGE PERROTTI is Montreal and GLEN ALLAN is Regina.

RARE GLIMPSES OF A TIME PAST

THE JEWISH EXPERIENCE IN CANADA



At the exhibit (above), Ben-Zion: occasional glances at the darker side

The activities on display include a hand-embroidered sampler made in Montreal around 1771, a child's wooden gravestone with a Hebrew prayer inscribed on it from Berlin, Silesia, and—in a lighter note—1930s used-up boxes of the word "Only 43 miles to Zion: Epstein's Store, Sedro, New Scotia. He wants to see you."

The articles are among the more than 300 artifacts that are part of an engaging exhibition covering 200 years of Jewish history in Canada, which opened last week at the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull, Que. Despite its generally optimistic tone, the exhibition glances occasionally at the darker side of the Jewish experience in Canada. One exhibit is a copy of an 1890 broadsheet appealing to German Germans to come to Canada—

and pointedly noting that Jews were not welcome. But, said Alan Rose, executive vice-president of the Canadian Jewish Congress, "our aim is to tell our fellow Canadians about the substantial contribution that Jews have made to the country."

Relic: The show, formally titled *A Cost of Many Colors*, provides glimpses of the widely varied roles that Jews have played in Canada's development. In presenting the show, curator Susan Morton Weisman travelled across the country for more than three years looking for historical relics. The ones that she found include a 183-year-old battered brass armband (18th-century one-headed) lamp that is used at the turn-of-the-century ritual circumcision knife. Most of the articles, said



Morton Weisman, are "heirloom objects, things that ordinary people would have used."

The exhibit grew out of a suggestion made by Andrea Ben-Zion, the wife of Holocaust survivor Charles Ben-Zion, co-chairman of the Seagram Co. Ltd. and the major owner of the Montreal Expos baseball team. Committed by the Museum of Civilization and the Canadian Friends of Beth Shalom, Morton of the Diaspora in Tel Aviv, and with Seagram as principal corporate sponsor, the show resulted from 30 years of research and organization.

Parable: After five months at the Museum of Civilization, the show will move to Winnipeg and then to Saskatoon, Toronto, Vancouver, Edmonton, Halifax, Montreal and New York City before heading up at the Museum of the Diaspora in Tel Aviv in August, 1990. In a companion book, *A Cost of Many Colors: Two Centuries of Jewish Life in Canada*, published by Toronto's Latimer & Cooper Books this month, Irving Abella, a professor of history at Toronto's York University, recounts the history of Jewish settlement in Canada. And in October, a television program on the exhibition is scheduled for broadcast by the CBC.

At a party and preview on March 31, Andrea Ben-Zion evoked the biblical parable of Joseph, whose father gave him a brightly colored coat. The boy's brothers, who were jealous of their father's love for Joseph, sold him into slavery. But Joseph survived and rose to become the most powerful man at the court of the Egyptian pharaoh. "Even when the bright colors of life seem to be faded and grayed by seven problems," said Ben-Zion, "we are a people that persist in the idea that, as individuals working together, we can help make the world as bright and colorful as Joseph's coat."

Relics: The exhibit on display at the Museum of Civilization serves to emphasize the deep historical roots that Jews have put down in Canada. Some of the oldest relics, including a locket, a shofar and part of a wagon, came from Fort McMurray (now Fort McMurray City, Mack 1), a military post and fur-trading centre. Among them were the first ever to be used by the Jewish community in Canada, who went on to become one of the founders of the first Canadian synagogue, in Montreal in 1790.

Although the exhibit does not formally address the Holocaust, there are occasional reminders of the Holocaust by Jews in Canada. One exhibit is a document created by one of the Jews arrested during the Second World War in a prison camp at Roppe, M.B. in England, at the outbreak of the war. British officials ordered the arrest of many Jews from Germany and Nazi-ruled European countries as enemy aliens and sent them to Canada for internment. For her part, Morton Weisman said that she hoped the exhibit would appeal to Canadians of all ethnic and religious backgrounds. In that way, she added, the exhibit may help to foster understanding and tolerance for an often-misunderstood and often-hated community that has helped to shape the nation.

NORA UNDERWOOD with DAVID MATTER in Ottawa

this year, earning \$360,000 on overall income of \$30 million. Those total profits of almost \$36 million at the three profitable airports offset by a wide margin a combined 1986-1989 loss of \$80 million, or total annual revenues of \$354 million, at Canada's six other major international airports—Montreal's Dorval and Mirabel, Ottawa, Edmonton, Winnipeg and Halifax.

The developers say that they are attracted to the airports in Toronto and Vancouver because those two operations, which rank first- and second-largest, respectively, in Canada, have the potential to generate even larger profits. Spokesmen for the firms involved say that they can improve earnings by expanding baggage, industrial and service facilities in the surrounding areas, including hotels, office space and convention facilities. As well, the increasing popularity and complexity of air travel means that more passengers spend time in airport terminals and, while there, they spend lavishly on meals, gifts and duty-free goods.

Led by Huang & Dineen's spectacular Terminal 3 development, the design and construction of airports in Canada appear to be following an international trend in which terminals are being transformed into luxury shopping rooms and shopping centers for the world's wealthy industrial and business travelers. In contrast to the modern stores and services in Toronto's two existing terminals, and Huang & Dineen's spokesman Jack Pineschane, Terminal 3 will include exhibits and displays in waiting areas for the entertainment of travellers, a food court and a retail shopping mall anchored by a 3,000-square-foot emporium that he called "a Barneys signature store," a mixing concourse that houses the emporium of the luxury department store in London's Knightsbridge.

Tim emphasis on passenger comfort and convenience by the designers also aims to lure major airlines to use Terminal 3. In addition to such luxuries as computerized baggage handling, whereby bar-coded stickers read by computers are used to route bags to the correct flight, the building's physical features were designed to reduce passenger stress and anxiety. A main departure hall, which is 1,006 feet long and towers 45 feet high, is a striking crescent of green glass filled with natural light and supported by rows of steel arches. As well,

a luxury 500-room hotel will be connected to Terminal 3 by a climate-controlled walkway. John Simko, Ottawa-based aviation consultant with the accounting and management consulting firm Price Waterhouse, and that providing such luxurious facilities is a new way of financ-

commercial operators would earn about 15 per cent of the total take in profit.

Another interested party in that project is a consortium that includes the British Airports Authority, which is already the world's largest private operator of terminals. That consortium, Canadian Airports Ltd., is competing for management rights at Pearson's two other terminals. The London-based British member of the group, renamed BAA PLC when it was purchased by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in 1986, now owns

seven airport operations in Britain, including two of the world's busiest—London's Heathrow and Gatwick airports. BAA also manages four other airports in Scotland. In Ottawa, the consortium's interests are represented by lobbyist Fred Doucet, Mulroney's former chief of staff.

Such lobbying efforts have been countered by opposing campaigns. Gordon Sinclair, president of the Ottawa-based Air Transport Association of Canada, which represents Canada's 132 airlines and aviation operators, says that many centers are opposed to any further involvement of private developers in airport operations, contending that they "will be charging carriers more to make up their costs, and those increases will be passed on to consumers." If the government itself cannot provide enough terminal capacity, Sinclair added, the airline industry would be interested in involving the necessary financing. For his part, air line union John, the Liberal party's transportation critic, says that there should be a mix of federal and community con-

ing airports: "A new terminal does drive more passengers."

Despite Huang & Dineen's strong foothold in airport management, they face stiff competition from two other firms in their bid to take over the management and operation of the Toronto airport's overcrowded Terminal 1 and Terminal 2 facilities. Matthew's Program group has an exclusive proposal to combine and upgrade the two terminals into one huge, horseshoe-shaped building at a cost of \$600 million. Pineschane estimates that the project, which would include a hotel, a business centre, a new parking garage and a \$10-million moving walkway, will earn a handsome rate of return on its investment. Some analysts have estimated that, after paying the government its leasing fees and a percentage of gross revenues, the

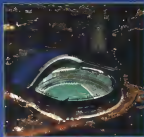
control, with preference for local airport authorities over private developers. Local groups, known as LAA, are already in various stages of formation in Vancouver, Calgary and Montreal. The Calgary group, Donald Rossini, a special adviser to that city's fledgling LAA, described airports as "a driving force of local economic activity" and said that "there are unexplored opportunities to drive more." Whomever benefits from those opportunities—private developers, local residents, the public purse, or all three—may well depend on whether Ottawa expands at Toronto Terminal 3 or takes off in a different direction.

PATRICIA CRIBBOLM with DAVID HASTIER in Ottawa



Passengers in Toronto's Terminal 3 generating operating profits

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BUSINESS WATCH



Standing by is not enough

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

There has never been a secession in Canadian history quite like this spring: Predictions about the swirling doors of Canada's independence by possible observers were so common place that they hardly make news; our future as a stable state has suddenly become so deeply uncertain that so too bothers replaying the scenes preceding its demise.

While there are no simple answers, it remains inconceivable to me that looking back at all the great things we have accomplished together during the 123 years since Confederation, Canadians should seriously now be debating any post-recession Canada should continue to exist. The great Quebec University Professor A. R. M. Lower said to argue that such government as Canada has had to rework the miracle of the nation's continued existence. That's fair enough. We are, after all, a loose federation of wildly diverse regions at the very margin of the world's meaningful geography. But in just contraband, there was always a quiver of common sense that ultimately kept us together. No more.

What triggered the current confrontation and characterizes the radically differing views of the country's destiny is, of course, *March Lake*. No issue, including the secession crisis of two world wars, has so deeply divided us—emotionally, constitutionally and apocalyptically. Yet, reduced to its barest facts, the record is a fairly accurate document, merely clearing up the mess left over from Pierre Trudeau's 1985 constitutional package, which left Quebec out in the cold. If the architects of the accord had stayed up a few extra hours and remembered to include such obviously required provisions as protecting slavery, corporal rights and the ability of the Yukon and Northwest Territories to gain provincial status without annexation, the March Lake agreement would have been passed long ago and faded into a subject for obscure academic theses—which is where it justifiably deserves to expire.

In the past, there was always a quiver of common intent that ultimately kept us together—but no more

Instead, elementary political errors seem to have doomed the accord and perhaps the country. The first of those was the mysterious whereabouts of New Brunswick Premier Robert F. Pickens and Manitoba Premier Howard Pawley to pass the accord after they signed it. Back had the accuracy time and legislative mysteries to follow through before their electoral defeat, which had little or nothing to do with March Lake. The accord, once more explained by the letter was the substance and timing of Robert Bourassa's Bill 178 that prohibited outside signs in English throughout Quebec.

That provocation set, irrelevant to his winning a majority in the election that followed, clearly isolated minority English rights in the province—at the very moment that he was trying to win approval for Quebec's "little" (and "mostly") rights within Canada. If Bourassa had been conspiring to have March Lake defeated, he could hardly have played out a more appropriate scenario. (The fact that Bill 178 has so eerily coincided with March Lake is squarely based on the "sovereignty clause" demanded in 1981 by then-Manitoba Premier Sterling Lyon, is now remembered only by constitutional junkies.)

Another inquiry as to the slow strangulation of

March has been the strangely passive role of the Manitoba government, with Lowell Murray as a bystander in the second meeting for 20 months that its promises were previously carved as tablets of stone. The Manitoba government's unopposed television plea was elegant enough, but too late to reverse the forces already in play.

The single most disappointing episode in the accord's unfolding debacle was last week's reaction to the brave initiative of New Brunswick's Frank McKenna. In an extraordinary stroke of statesmanship, the provincial Liberal leader, who had been the first premier to attack March, stood back not only doubled that his provincial and personal ambitions were not worth taking the country's existence—particularly at a time when public opinion polls showed that, without a March agreement, more than half of francophone Quebecers were openly against remaining part of Canada.

McKenna tabled a compromise accord, which drew with ease of the dissenting province's objections, even being thoughtful enough to deliberately leave out Senate reform, so that Manitoba's Premier Gary Filmon could grab that issue, clutch around the reform initiative and help make it his own. "We should split our gains with flowers," McKenna was declared as what stood as the most appropriate statement of the year, if not the decade. "We're fighting over television time."

Instead of granting McKenna a decent hearing, March Lake's critics spent their time with tactics. Filmon went into a suit and tie, forced even to consider the proposed changes to what he termed the "Bowed" accord, backed by provincial NDP Leader Gary Doer, who did little but was his metaphor by declaring, "We're going to stick to our guns." Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells, the Earl of March of Canadian Confederation, dismissed the McKenna initiative out of hand, preserving his status as a Trudeau clone, rejecting anything not authored by his mentor. Trudeau himself was long touring the nation's TV studios, promising that Canada had no claim to immortality, and that he'd be the first one to die. "I'm going to die in a bit," he said. "I'm going to die in a bit." It was a Quebec move to separate.

Predictably, Robert Bourassa came through with his own version of a compromise on the McKenna recommendations: not one comment to be altered in the original accord, and to be left with McKenna's courage and silence. Fortunately, the New Brunswick premier hasn't given up his crusade. His successful conclusion seems unlikely yet, in a country where a major province elects Bill Vander Zalm as premier, yet public opinion is so divided that it is possible. As the days and weeks drop away, even the clearest chance for reaching the March accord must be abandoned. Fortunately, the McKenna compromise is being shown the public again it deserves, its approach remains the price of a solution.

We must allow our best country to go by default. Our children and their children will be day want as never, when they dream. "What day you're during the Great March Lake Accord Debate, Diddy?"

Standing by is not enough

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SPECIAL REPORT

LEGACY OF A TRAGIC LIFE

THE NETHERLANDS MARKS THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF VAN GOGH'S DEATH WITH A NINE-MONTH CELEBRATION

In late September, 1888, and on years-earring residents of Arles in southern France would gather beneath the gaudy awning of a local café. There, many of them could watch the bizarre spectacle of Vincent van Gogh, in a haze of candlelight, working just up the street. In order to see well enough to paint his infamous picture, *Gogh's Terror of Night*, he placed the candles on the table, but later he had placed others around his easel. At the time, the townspeople regarded the red-headed, broad-shouldered Dutchman as a harmless eccentric. But within a few weeks, their opinion of him had changed when an argument with his friend and fellow painter Paul Gauguin, van Gogh cut off the lobe of his left ear and gave it to a prostitute. The police took him to a hospital, where he was confined for two weeks as a rill for the insane. The artist suffered other breakdowns—and spent several periods in an asylum—over the next

Self-portrait on display at the van Gogh museum. Portrait of Dr. Gachet (below), recognizing a misunderstood genius

two years. Then, in 1890, he died at 37 of a self-inflicted gunshot wound, just as his art was starting to gain recognition. Now, a century later, his paintings are among the most admired—and most costly—in the world.

Adulation: More than any other artist, van Gogh has come to represent the tragic creator, the misunderstood genius who wins the world's adulation only after his death. In 1987, his Arles became the most expensive painting ever sold at auction when it fetched \$71 million at Sotheby's in New York City (page 41). And this year, Holland is marking the centenary of its famous son's death with a nine-month celebration that represents the greatest tribute ever paid to an artist by a nation. Two years in preparation, the festival will cost an estimated \$13.4 million, with four major Dutch firms—Rijm Arnhem, Houthen, Sparkeboeren and Douwe Egberts—underwriting the budget. And Gertjan Tuijnman of the Amsterdam tourist bureau: "The Dutch are making damned sure that van Gogh is paid his just dues."

At the center of the festivities, expected to draw 1.5 million visitors from around the world, are two exhibitions that represent the most comprehensive retrospective of van Gogh's work ever assembled. The show,

opened by Dutch sovereign Queen Beatrix on March 30, the 137th anniversary of the artist's birth, are among dozens of events commemorating the artist. There are also plays, two operas and even a 200-km bicycle tour between van Gogh's birthplace of Zwolle and his grave at Auvers-sur-Oise near Paris. And in June, Amsterdam will host a festival showcasing more of the more than 70 movies that have been made about van Gogh's life. The highlight will be the world premiere of *Vincent and Theo*, a 2½-hour TV miniseries by American director Robert Altman, about the artist and his younger brother.

Misadventure: Van Gogh, who failed as an art dealer, a teacher and a missionary before he (owing to art) as he lost 10 years, often despaired of doing anything worthwhile. In 1888, he wrote to Theo: "My only anxiety is how can I be of use in the world, cannot I serve some purpose and be of any good?" He did not live to see it, but his influence as an artist has been profound. Eugene Wicks-Owens, a University of Toronto art historian who curated a 1988 van Gogh exhibition at Paris's Musée d'Orsay, describes him as one of the world's most accessible and rewarding artists. "When you look at his works, you don't necessarily need to have all the traditional intellectual baggage to understand them," she said. "What he brings with him is so refreshing, and yet it's very complex." Among his admirers is Reginald sculpture Joe Pollard, who declared, "Van Gogh is to artists what Christ is to Christians."

For some, the celebrations in the Netherlands are an opportunity to turn a handsome profit. The critics have generated a profusion of mugs, pens and T-shirts. But, partly in response to an antiprofit-making trade in the Dutch press earlier this year, most of the items are reasonably priced. "We had expected to find peddlars hawking outside the museum with plastic van Gogh pens at unreasonably high prices," said Yves Iles art critic for the Dutch weekly *Elsevier*. Still, many of the items are unapologetically up-market, a man who lived under poverty for much of his life and sootily managed to sell any of his paintings is now being commemorated with van Gogh perfume, van Gogh wines, van Gogh tapestries and a "Gentleman Vincent" pen set.

Much of the public's fascination with the painter springs from the tragic nature of his life. Besides falling repeatedly—and he close at—no field a woman, he never married and was tormented by most of the women he loved. High-strung and temperamental for all of his life he became increasingly unstable in his last years. The end of his life was marked by intense creativity—and by periods of derangement so severe that he occasionally ate his pants. He was constantly tormented by a sense of isolation. Yet the expressive power of his art has prompted many to make a pilgrimage to his birthplace in the Netherlands, or to the city's Vincent van Gogh Museum, consists of 130 of the artist's 900 paintings, 80 of them on loan from 20 museums around the world. And in the Kröller-Müller Museum in the town of Otterlo, 64 km north of Amsterdam, 288 of van Gogh's 1,100 drawings are on display. The two shows combined hoping the full range of his genius. The painting retrospective encompasses the numbers early depictions of peasant life in Holland and the bleak, sun-drenched scenes that he painted in southern France later on, including *Sunflowers*, *Wheatfields with Cypress* and several of his haunting self-portraits. According to Fern Boet, managing director of the van Gogh 1990 Foundation, which organized the ceremony, the aim was to "display the works van Gogh himself considered his most important."

Boet said that organizers made divisions on the basis of what van Gogh said in his voluminous correspondence with Theo, an art dealer who supported him for most of his life.

Insurance: Assembling the exhibition of paintings was a huge task. The show's insurance costs set a world record of \$3.6 billion, a mark held by a recently completed art in the art market—and of the risk of art theft (page 44). Van Gogh 1990 Foundation spokeswoman Madeline Woudenaar said that some meth-



tion collect to lend their van Gogh works, while others "didn't make up their minds until they learned every detail of our security measures and measured the humidity and light in the van Gogh museum." The museum underwent a costly renovation to provide better control of lighting levels.

Precautions: As well, the fire that badly damaged the crowds could damage the paintings led foreign museums to insist that no more than 7,500 people could use the exhibition on any day. The most controversial provision was to put all but a few of the paintings behind glass, which makes it difficult for visitors to fully appreciate van Gogh's vigorous brushwork. Said visitor François Mérieux, of Miroco, France: "Glass is a painting in itself: a conflict in its own right."

Still, Marina Klay, art critic of *The Sunday Times* of London, was one of many who praised the show, describing it as the exhibition of masterpieces in "the biggest and also the best" surroundings of van Gogh works in this century. And Sue Glass, a London-based, Cold, teacher who traveled to Holland for the tribute, said that the painting show had brought van Gogh closer to her. Said Glass: "You sense the heartbeat behind the legend."

The two exhibitions will close on July 29, the centennial of van Gogh's death, but other aspects of the celebration will stretch into 1991. At least 15 institutions dotted around Holland are holding shows of their own to disseminate aspects of the artist's work and are debuting out the exhibitions in Amsterdam will be an exhibition that replaces van Gogh's impact on early 20th-century art. Featuring works by French artist Henri Matisse, Russian-born Wassily Kandinsky and Austrian Elgon Schiele, it will run from Nov. 16 to Feb. 18 at the van Gogh museum. For their part, the French have received \$1.53 billion in preparing Avignon, where he spent his last months, for an expected 150,000 visitors during the century. Town officials are organizing tours to the van Gogh painted in his final weeks.

Belittlement: Van Gogh's life has been romanticized to the point where the myth often obscures the man himself. Several popular biographies have over-dramatized his mental problems and mythologized him as a genius driven mad by solitary love affairs and society's indifference. One of the first sources of the van Gogh legend was the painter's biographer, in 1903 biographer *Auguste de Saint-Basile* (Before and After). Susan Stron, curator of modern paintings at New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, said that Guggenheim



American visitors (above and below) cards, ties, perfume and more—but no playing cards

exaggerated the degree of van Gogh's mental problems partly for his own purposes. The curator explained that, by characterizing van Gogh as a madman whom he took under his wing, Guggenheim "could take credit for some of

van Gogh's innovations and triumphs." The romanticization continued in several other accounts of van Gogh's life, notably U.S. novelist Irving Stone's 1956 best-seller *Last Days of Vincent* and the 1956 film of the same title, starring Kirk Douglas.

But since 1965, when American art scholar John Russell wrote his influential book *Post-Impressionism: From van Gogh to Gauguin*, critics have begun to reassess that van Gogh was more of an intellectual than had previously been thought. Said Stone: "It was the first book to really look at van Gogh as a serious artist as opposed to a creative mythic genius, showing him not as isolated from what was going on in his time, but very much informed with contemporary literature and painting, and very much involved with the art world."

Grandson: In van Gogh's birthplace of Zundert, a southern town near the Belgian border, little remains to remind visitors of the great painter. The van Gogh home, on the main street facing the town hall, was demolished in 1903 and rebuilt to the same design the following year. Nearly a tiny roadside church where the artist's father, Theodorus, was a Protestant pastor. In the churchyard, there is a gravestone for Vincent van Gogh, but it is not the artist's; the grave is for his parents' first son, who was stillborn. Grieving over the loss, the couple decided to name their next child, born the following year, after the dead infant. Van Gogh was the eldest of an surviving children. As a child, he showed a talent for sketching and an insatiable appetite for reading. At 16, he was sent to The Hague, where he made got him a job as an art dealer.

In 1873, the art gallery sent him to work with Lombard brothers, where he fell madly in love with his landlady's daughter, Eugénie Bayet. She



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terred when she rejected him, he became preoccupied with evangelical Christianity and lost interest in his job. After he was fired in 1870, van Gogh taught briefly before turning to an assistant work, first in England and later in the poor Belgian mining district known as the Borinage. Deeply moved by the miners' desperate living conditions, he gave away his belongings and slept in a loam. His superiors, alarmed by that act, dismissed him in 1879. The following year, he decided to become an artist. "I will take up my pencil, which I have forsaken in my disappointment," he wrote to Theo, "and I will get on with my drawing."

Strikes: Some of van Gogh's first powerful supporters were of the prostitute Benzonels, with whom he lived for a short time. Then, in 1881, he began taking painting lessons. By 1883, when he was living in rural Nuenen, he had completed his first masterpiece, *The Potato Eaters*. With its earthy brown tones, the depiction of a family of peasants hours late reminiscent to the color-saturated canvases that he would later paint in France. But its harshness reflected van Gogh's sympathy for the poor. He wrote to Theo, "I have tried to emphasize that those people... have dug the earth with their very hands; they are reaching out to the sky, and so it speaks of natural bliss, and how they have honestly earned their food."

The full flowering of his genius took place after he moved to France. The art trade had taken Theo to Paris, and in 1886 Vincent moved to join him. There he met many of the great artists of the time, including Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec. It was a difficult period for the Midwesterner Theo, who shared van Gogh's, who had always been volatile and argumentative, became even more so when he began drinking heavily.

In 1888, seeking the bright light of the Mediterranean, van Gogh moved south to Arles. The intense southern colors were reflected in his landscapes, flower paintings and portraits. But the period of enlightenment that led him to migrate had run its course in 1888—an act now thought to have been caused in part by epilepsy—was the first in a series of crises. In May, 1889, van Gogh voluntarily entered the asylum in the nearby town of Saint-Rémy-de-Provence. He continued to paint furiously during periods of lucidity. His attacks, he wrote to Theo in October, spared him on the same way that "a mother who is always in danger makes haste to what he does."

Recognition: That period marked the beginning of recognition for van Gogh. In February 1890, letter. Theo wrote that he had sold one of his brother's canvases, *The Red Vineyard*, for 400 francs, then a respectable sum. But the painter saw it as an act of ill-fortune, replying that he "feared at once that I should be punished for it." In May, he moved to Auvers, where he came under the care of Dr. Paul Gachet, that despair melted up and overcame him on a hot July afternoon, he walked to a field and shot himself in the chest. He managed to drag himself back to his room, where he died 26 hours later. Soon after, the painting *The Yellow Sky* was sold, and the artist's work suffered a physical and emotional col-

lapse of his own. He died in January, 1901.

One positive analysis of van Gogh's work appeared late in his lifetime. More widespread critical recognition emerged soon after his death. Sent art historian *Walter Dillman*, "There did come to him very quickly. As soon as he was dead, and even prior to that, more



Starry Night: Self-portrait with a Straw Hat (below): a century after his death, his paintings are among the most admired, and most costly, artworks in the world.

and more artists and contemporaries realized what this so-called madman was all about." Collectors began to seek out his work, and the art world began to recognize him as a master who had influenced the development of Western painting, especially in his use of color as an expressive force. When *Prison* sold in 1847, to



John Whitney Phisum—whose family owned the painting until 1914—sold it for \$1.5 million. More widespread critical recognition emerged soon after his death. Sent art historian *Walter Dillman*, "There did come to him very quickly. As soon as he was dead, and even prior to that, more

generations of artists have been looking. Pils-

Picasso and the German expressionists acknowledged their debt to him. British artist Francis Bacon painted variations on van Gogh's works. And Matisse, who owned several of his drawings, was in awe of him.

More recently, Russian artist Falst, who says that he has read everything he can find about van Gogh, has produced a 40-part sculpture work that transforms each of the Dutch artist's self-portraits into three dimensions. Sent Falst, "I didn't start out thinking that van Gogh was greater than other artists. I concluded that after completing my study."

Feeling: Many have written about van Gogh, but few have been able to articulate the extraordinary appeal of his work more effectively than the *Solomon Rensselaer*. "Every one of his canvases has a central content, crystallizing a genuine feeling," he wrote in *Post-Impressionism*. From van Gogh to Gauguin, few only a handful of men can afford to own his paintings. But, for the millions who cherish his work, it transcends price tags—and endures in the inspiring legacy of a life of pain.

PAMELA YOUNG with
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SPECIAL REPORT



Van Gogh's *Le Pont de Trinquetaille* at Christie's in London: controversy

MASTERPIECES AND MILLIONS

PRICES FOR ARTWORK GO SKY-HIGH

The tranquility of the image contrasts starkly with the controversy that has raged around it. Vincent van Gogh's *Le Pont de Trinquetaille* is a masterpiece of art. In the past year, three works by Pablo Picasso have sold for more than \$47.9 million each at auction. Profits, meanwhile, have soared at the two biggest art auction houses. Sotheby's, with sales totalling \$3.9 billion in 1989, up from \$2.3 billion the year before, and Christies, with sales of \$3.5 billion in 1989, up from \$1.7 billion. And as rich collectors drive up the bidding, the most sought-after works have reached prices that are far beyond the means of most museums. Last September, the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa, "it seems outrageous very much on the sidelines. The Getty can still compete at auction, but that's about it," declared Charles Moffett, senior curator of painting at the National Gallery of Art in Washington. "When we were told, it was a pain for millions."

There is also growing resentment of the big auction houses among art gallery owners. Phyllis Kard, owner of New York's Phyllis Kard Gallery, complains that rising auction prices have had a "staggering effect" on the art world. In an interview, she accused the auction houses of becoming "very greedy" in a bold statement. "They try to make through too many lots at once," said Kard, who specializes in contemporary art. She added that auctioneers are so anxious to get on with the bidding for the top-ranked works in a sale that they sometimes bring the hammer down on items costing \$50,000 or less before bidding has definitely opened. The high auction prices are attracting sellers away from art dealers who specialize in older art and who require

agrees, the auction house began looking for another buyer last year. Late last month, it quickly concluded a deal with the well-funded J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, Calif. The institution bought *Prise* for an undisclosed sum. Most experts say that the Getty museum likely got the canvas for less than Bond had agreed to pay because a painting loses some of its luster at the marketplace, at least temporarily, when it reappears as a commodity. Bond promises Toronto artist Joyce Wieland. "What is alarming is the way people are buying things, stacking them in vaults and treating them like gold bricks or diamonds."

Stalens: Art has traditionally been a symbol of prestige,

but the status attached to ownership has now reached new heights. Collectors in many parts of the world, notably Japan, are spending previously unimaginable sums of money on art. In the past year, three works by Pablo Picasso have sold for more than \$47.9 million each at auction. Profits, meanwhile, have soared at the two biggest art auction houses. Sotheby's, with sales totalling \$3.9 billion in 1989, up from \$2.3 billion the year before, and Christies, with sales of \$3.5 billion in 1989, up from \$1.7 billion. And as rich collectors drive up the bidding, the most sought-after works have reached prices that are far beyond the means of most museums. Last September, the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa, "it seems outrageous very much on the sidelines. The Getty can still compete at auction, but that's about it," declared Charles Moffett, senior curator of painting at the National Gallery of Art in Washington. "When we were told, it was a pain for millions."

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Instead of putting the painting on the block

THE MOST SOUGHT-AFTER WORKS ARE BEYOND THE REACH OF MOST MUSEUMS

most of what they sell from private collections. Said Michel Moreau, director of Montreal's venerable Desmarco Gallery, which sells 19th- and 20th-century art from both Canada and abroad: "In the United States, and in Canada to a point, it is becoming difficult for galleries to get sales because a lot of people are now offering pieces to auction houses for selling."

Critics of the auction houses also say that some practices are unethical, including Sotheby's controversial policy of lending buyers money to purchase a work, with the art itself serving as collateral. Sotheby's provided us with these loans on purchases of more than \$1 million over the past few years, including the one in Paris. But the auction house stopped lending in January 1991. Sotheby's spokesman says that their loans did not, as critics charged, drive prices up. "We didn't believe that this and we don't believe that now," said Tim Llewellyn, managing director of Sotheby's in London. "We take the view that somebody who is looking for something de-



Irises: a record sale price for a painting at an auction

Charles Allagap. "We were driven to give it because we didn't want to lose business." Now the art world is lively, awaiting next month's major art auctions—the houses have their big sales every May and November—to see whether the market will sustain its upward momentum. In New York this spring, both of

the leading auction houses have a contender to overtake the *Irises* record. On May 15, Christie's will offer van Gogh's *Portrait of Dr. Gachet* (1890), an etching, masterfully depic- tive of the doctor who treated the painter in Auvers, France, after his release from a mental institution. Then, on May 17, the highlight at Sotheby's auction will be the impressive masterwork *La Mairie de la Guiche* (1878), Pierre Auguste Renoir's two-figural painting of young Fiermain at an auctioneers' dance hall. In both cases, the private estimate is \$40.4 million to \$54 million, but bidding fre- quency continues well above the estimate.

Triumph increasingly, the amateurs who still have enough money to trumpet in the auction hallways were not from Japan. Last November, Tokyo real estate developer Shigemasa Tsunamoto be- came the world's second- highest bidder at an art auc- tion when he purchased a 1900 Sotheby's *Portrait of a Princess*, *Princess's Wedding*, for \$29.5 million. And, until Bond bought *Irises*, Tokyo's Yawata Fine and Marine Insurance Co., which paid \$32.7 million in March, 1987, for van Gogh's *Self-Portrait with Bandaged Ear* in London, was the world's highest bidder at auction.

What, exactly, Japanese interest has been concentrated on the impressionist movement of the 1870s and 1880s and the subsequent early-modern period that stretches from the 1880s to 1900. It is in these areas that prices have exploded most rapidly. Inas Kary, director of New York's OK Harris Gallery, a Sotheby's affiliate that sells contemporary art, and that Japanese collectors are into, on the whole, "completely clear on the relative worth of Western art objects." But he added that many Westerners pay questionable prices, as well. Declared Kary: "It is a very speculative market and a very un- informed market."

Criticism: Clearly, the main casualties of the fervent buying are the museums—and by extension, the public. Apart from the current *Irises* owner, California's Getty Museum, which has a generous endowment, most au- thorities have annual acquisition budgets of a few million dollars or less. Canada's own National Gallery faced fierce criticism after it announced last month that it had spent \$1.76 million for *Irises* of Fine, an abstract work by U.S. artist Barnett Newman. Man- ning Conservative MP Peter Hollman complained that the institutions had spent an exorbitant amount of money

De Moores's list exchanges high prices for living artists



intense. Christie's became involved in a controversy of its own when it reversed its stand on another contentious issue: guarantee of a minimum price. With a guarantee, if the bidding does not go as high as the promised sum, the auction house itself buys the item at an agreed amount—or implements a selling price to meet the guarantee. It is a practice that Sotheby's has followed for 20 years. Said John Mason, chairman of Sotheby's North American operations: "It is a way of attracting top public competition in very interesting prop- erty." But Christie's executives tradi- tionally opposed the practice, saying that it potentially created a conflict of interest for an auctioneer. Then, they reversed their position and offered the firm's first guarantee to acquire ma- jor rights for two highly desirable paintings from the estate of U.S. finan- cier Robert Lehman, including a van Gogh self-portrait. Said chairman

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for the painting. But the gallery pointed out that a comparable work by the same artist had recently sold for nearly \$3 million.

Insurance costs are escalating at jaw-dropping prices. Last month, when thieves stole 13 art objects from the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston, the insurance revealed that it was not insured against theft because the premiums—more than \$3.5 million—would have exceeded its entire budget (page 48). And because of higher insurance costs, blockbuster shows that bring together major works of art from international collections are becoming far more costly in actual—and even more cost-prohibitive. The cost of insuring the Van Gogh retrospective in Holland marking the centenary of the painter's death is estimated at a record-breaking \$3.6 billion.

American museums are suffering from other problems as well. As a result of 1996 changes to the U.S. Tax Act, collectors who donate works to a museum can now claim tax deductions only for the amount that they originally paid for an item, which often is a fraction of its current market value. Because of that, owners who might have donated works have become more likely to sell them at auction for a substantial profit.

Soubery: According to a survey by the New York-based Association of Art Museums, therefore, donations to U.S. art institutions declined by 60 per cent between 1996 and 1998. Such cutbacks at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and The Art Institute of Chicago have sold off works from their collections in order to finance new purchases on the market. Peter Howell, assistant curator at the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis, which specializes in 20th-century art, said that his gallery was able to set up an endowment fund, or "endowment facility," for the acquisition of new works by selling off some of its 19th-century holdings. But the practice can get "a little dicey," Howell added. "It's like baseball or hockey, where you sometimes trade up trading several players and getting only one in return."

The pressure on the museums will likely escalate. Now, even works by some living artists are selling for millions of dollars at auction: a painting by U.S. artist Jasper Johns sold in 1998 for \$21.6 million, and a work by Dutch-born American Willem de Kooning went for \$27.3 million in 1999.

Speculation for the auction houses predict that 1999 will be another very good year. "Warren has always wanted to create and own art, right back to cave paintings," said Christie's Allaway. But, Christie's concludes, "there's a lot of people out there who are using art to cool down and get their nerves under control. It's not all of them who are wholly admirable. It is bought for taste, nobility and greed, and always has been." And as long as enough players in the market place have money to spend, the auction houses will continue to have healthy balance sheets.

PAMELA YOUNG with JOSEPH MARY
in London. DAVIDE TURNBULL in Toronto
and LISA ROCHON in Ottawa



Untitled work by Rogelio: the only Canadian painting to break \$1 million

A COOLER MOOD

CANADIAN ART IS STILL WITHIN REACH

The Canadian art market has been largely immune to the frenzy that has swept through the international art world in recent years. Only one work by a Canadian artist has broken the \$1-million threshold: an untitled painting by Quebec-born, Paris-based abstract painter Jean-Paul Rogelio, 66, recently sold for \$1.8 million at Sotheby's in New York City. That appears to be the end of the line for Canadian art in the market. Between 1989 and 1993, the average price for Canadian art was \$1.3 million, down from \$1.5 million in 1988. Meanwhile, the two major domestic auction houses, Sotheby's Canada Inc. and Joyner Fine Art Inc., both located in Toronto, are not for the faint of heart. The top price ever paid at a Canadian auction, \$495,000, was for the successful bid for *Minuteman in the Snow*, by Group of Seven member Lawren Harris, which Sotheby's sold in 1993, and for *The Art Warrent*, by early-20th-century Quebec artist Clarence Gagnon, sold by Joyner in 1999.

Sketches: Both works are landscapes, which, along with the 19th-century paintings of natives and early settlers by Paul Kane and Cornelius Krieghoff, are the most sought-after works on the domestic resale market. Their value is increasing steadily—but few Canadians are buying the pictures. Christina Drolet, president of Sotheby's (Canada), estimates that 25 per cent of purchases at Canadian auctions remain in the country.

Still, a few younger artists are gaining reputations abroad. Two of the new stars are Vancouver artists Jeff Wall, 44, and Miki

Richard Laake, 27, who have been widely shown and collected in North America and Europe. Over the past four years, Wall's large, black-and-white photographs of apparently volatile social encounters—in reality, they are staged with actors—have risen in value to nearly \$700,000 from \$30,000. Laake, currently living in Berlin, is best known for disturbing paintings that depict the thoroughly contemporary subject of skinheads with the methods of Old Master paintings. His large canvases are now valued at roughly \$60,000, up from \$30,000 only a year ago.

Dramatic: So far, the majority of Canada's art collectors have failed to keep pace with their more adventurous artists. Steve Pietsch, Laake's dealer and the owner of Vancouver's Dasse Pardo Gallery, noted that most of his customers are Americans. Still, other dealers report a gradual growth in the number of Canadian buyers for the most progressive contemporary art. Did the greatest increase in domestic demand in the established contemporary art market? Patricia Fries of London, Ont., who creates dramatic, semi-object works on plywood, comments up to \$125,000 for one of his pieces—an increase of 25 per cent in less than two years. And canvases by such household names as Steve Scott's *Alan Caldwell* and Graham's *Ken Denby* fetch between \$150,000 and \$175,000. But in the international context, those are still conservative numbers.

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BUYING ART FOR A STEAL

THE BLACK MARKET IS BOOMING

The daring \$130-million art theft at Toronto's Art Gallery of Ontario captured the world's attention last month. Two men dressed in police uniforms made their way into the museum after hours, then Macdonald, gagged and bound two guards before disappearing two hours later with their bounty. But only one week before that, anonymous crown—declared by some experts to be the biggest art heist in history—thieves in Toronto made their own contribution to the booming black market in art. They stole off with 26 original works on paper by artists including Pablo Picasso and David Hockney—worth an estimated \$470,000—from the downtown Albert White Gallery. The tale from both thefts will likely find its way into a little black market that has made stolen art the second-largest international trafficking commodity, after drugs.

Foundation: Last year, the New York City-based International Foundation for Art Research (Ifar), which keeps data on stolen art, received reports of about 5,000 thefts. And Constantine Lowenthal, Ifar's director, says that there were undoubtedly many more. Experts say that art usually sells for no more than 10 percent of its market value. Yet theft is still on the increase, Lowenthal adds, partly because "art is worth more money now."

Only about 10 percent of stolen works are ever recovered. One at Whitefield with *Shadows* by Vincent van Gogh, which had been taken from a warehouse in Zurich on March 12. Last week Zurich police succeeded in and arrested three men who were claiming \$1.4 million in ransom. Among Western countries, Canada ranks fourth—after the United States, Italy and France—in the number of art thefts reported. And, according to Lisa Scher, director of the Cultural Property Unit of Interpol Ottawa, an RCMP affiliate of the international police organization, prices are the most commonly stolen artworks in Canada. In the past, paintings were local police to investigate the March 24 theft, from Vancouver's Herrington Galleries, of a Rembrandt etching worth about \$24,000. But, at the 1980s, thefts from commercial galleries accounted for only 36 percent of the total take, while about 37 per-



Guards at the Art Gallery of Ontario during thefts

cent was from private dwellings. Just eight percent was from museums. And officers, schools, churches and storage facilities accounted for the remaining one-third.

Intruders: Like most art thefts, the Toronto gallery break-in was meticulously planned. The thieves forced their way through a fire-escape door in the converted warehouse in which the Albert White Gallery is located. Then, they cut a six-by-eight-hole in the two layers of dry wall separating a public corridor from a storage room inside the gallery. Staff Ed Hartley, director of Toronto Image Works, a photography lab located on the same floor and around the corner from the gallery: "It was so simple, it was like taking candy from a baby."

But at least the Albert White Gallery had

their insurance. That is not the case at many U.S. institutions, including the Gardner, which could not afford to pay a potential insuring cost of \$3.3 million. The Boston thieves made off with 13 works, including Jan Vermeer's *The Concert* (one of only 30 known paintings by the 17th-century Dutch artist) and worth an estimated \$44 million, and Rembrandt's *Shew as the Son of Galilee*, that Dutch master's only mature painting, valued at \$18 million.

Professionals: The high profile of the works left art experts speculating about how the Gardner robbers might dispose of them. Some analysts said that the robbery may have been carried out by professionals employed by an art lover who gave them a specific shopping list. Experts say that some stolen Western masterpieces end up in Japan under the country's laws, buyers who obtained a piece of art in good faith, with no knowledge that it had been stolen, do not have to give it back if the theft took place more than five years earlier. In 1987, three of five paintings by French artist Jean-Baptiste Corot stolen from a museum near Dijon, France, were recovered by police in that country. Claude Monet's *Impression, Sunrise*—which gave the Impressionist movement its name, and which was stolen from the Museum of Modern Art in Paris in 1985—is believed to be in Japan.

Often, thieves store the goods for many years before attempting to find a buyer. The item and the art are currently investigating a case that involves masterpieces stolen from a stately house in Scotland in 1982, including a painting by John Constable. They were put up for resale in the United States last year through a London, Ont., middleman. The London was killed his wife and committed suicide when he became aware of the police investigation. At other times, robbers of masterpieces demand ransom money. But, as the recovery of the van Gogh in Zurich last week illustrates, that is a risky ploy. DMF's Lowenthal suspects that the whole business of stealing art is far more profitable than it might at first seem. She declared, "I would think stealing cash from a bank would be a lot easier."

LISA BOCHON is in Geneva

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PEOPLE

PLUNGING INTO THIRTY-PLUS

Twenty years after he first came up with the idea of writing an epic book on Niagara Falls, author Pierre Berton says that he is finally "plunging into it." The 66-year-old writer is researching the history of the falls and the eccentricities of the honeymooners who came to the falls in the late 19th century. Berton, who received a \$600,000 advance from publishers McClelland and Stewart Ltd. for these two books: "I'm just not happy unless I'm working on something."

Homework

Across Shelley Peterson says that working is a "bun-ny" she craves. "Having gets in your blood," said Peterson, "although it takes a psychiatrist to figure out why." But the 35-year-old wife of Ontario Premier David Peterson said that work is her home town of Toronto is quiet, and added that she does not like to take out-of-town jobs that keep her away from her three children, aged 12, 10 and 8. An actress since 1972 when she made her TV debut as an unpaid deputy minister in the 1987 CBC TV series *Not My Department* (cancelled after its second year), Peterson said that she is always eager for her agent to call with a job. And recently, she got a break. She is playing a mother of three in a pilot for a TV comedy series, *Detachable*, which has just completed filming in Toronto. "I can relate to the humorous family situation in this show," said Peterson. "It would be lovely if it becomes a series—I'm not too young for it."

Peterson: "Lots of energy"



Hemingway: eye-catching comeback

VINTAGE HEMINGWAY

Model Margaret Hemingway never said that she lived like the way that her famous grandfather had—hard and dangerous. Like Ernest Hemingway, she drank too much, had two rocky unhappy marriages and suffered depression. By the late 1970s, Hemingway's career had plummeted, after giving 73 lb. following a 1985 skiing accident, she dropped out of public view. Now, sober and fit, she is launching an eye-catching comeback—with a photo spread in the May issue of *Playboy* magazine. Said Hemingway, 35: "I'm putting my bottom dollar on this one to speak."

SETTLING AN OLD SCORE

His signature basketball shot is the skyhook. But in his new book, legendary centre Kareem Abdul-Jabbar shoots straight at his onetime NBA rival, Walt (The Stilt) Chamberlain. In *Kareem, a Day of It*, first 1982-1983 season before returning from the Los Angeles Lakers, the usually genial Abdul-Jabbar, 43, shows Chamberlain—the first player to score 38,000 points—in "a palace, where crying." According to Abdul-Jabbar, animosity between the two sports heroes began when he broke Chamberlain's scoring record in 1984. Chamberlain, who retired in 1973 at 38, had thus publicly called for Abdul-Jabbar's early retirement on the grounds that he twisted his skill. "He twisted at me for a long time from the sidelines," said Abdul-Jabbar, who played an average of 28 years in the NBA. "So I figured I should take this opportunity to say a few things about him." But Abdul-Jabbar says that he no longer holds a grudge. "I had my say," he explained. "That will be the end of it for me."

Abdul-Jabbar: "Smacked from the sidelines"



'Like' is a four-letter word

American film director Henry Jaglom says that he is "concerned" with the public response to his new movie, *New Year's Day*, a comedy about the young generation. Too many people like it, he complained. "I try to reveal truth and I expect to alienate a lot of people," said Jaglom, whose 1985 black comedy, *Can She Take a Cherry Pie?*, about divorce, was mixed reviews. He added, "Now, I worry that I'm pandering to the audience."

PHOTOGRAPH BY

A legal legacy

Chief Justice Brian Dickson steps down



Dickson (above); *l'Espresso*-Dubé's substantial transformation of the court

In the Canadian legal system, he is known as a cool and reasoned thinker, a balance of force and calm at the head of the highest court in the country. Those qualities served Chief Justice Brian Dickson well during the six years he served the Supreme Court of Canada through one of the most dramatic—and turbulent—periods in its 118-year history, using the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms as the basis for more than 100 legal judgments. Dickson and the other eight members of the court are to a large extent public unknowns, but with the announcement last week of the 73-year-old Saskatchewan native's intention to retire this summer, Dickson will leave a legacy of laws that touch the lives of practically every Canadian. But Justice MacPherson, the dean of Ontario law school at York University in Toronto. "Brian Dickson has had the greatest impact on the Supreme Court, and on Canadian constitutional law, of any judge in history."

In a letter to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, Canada's 13th chief justice explained that he planned to step down on June 30, 11 months before he reaches the mandatory retirement age of 75. The red-haired Dickson, who lost most of his right leg while serving in

France as an artilleryman with the Canadian Army during the Second World War, said that it would be hard to be someone if he retired this summer when the court is at its busiest. Dickson, who owns a farm outside of Ottawa, told *Maclean's*: "I gave this quite a lot of thought. But I'm looking forward to doing more law, doing a little travelling and seeing some of my children and grandchildren."

Legal experts say that during his term as chief justice, Dickson had helped to substantially transform Canada's highest court by adding substance to the charter, the constitutional vehicle that heralded a new age in Canadian jurisprudence. Regarded as one of the most eloquent and original authors of Supreme Court judgments, Dickson found the difficult chore of interpreting the charter's intent without striding into the political or legislative sphere. Dickson's view of the courts' power was evident in a 1985 judgment that struck down a federal law that prevented stores in Alberta from opening on Sundays. Dickson's grounds the statute was badly written and improperly centered around religious beliefs. In

1988, Dickson's court broke new ground when it ruled that Quebec's controversial Bill 101, which said that only children with at least one parent educated in English could receive English schooling in the province, was unconstitutional under the charter, which guarantees the right to mother-tongue education anywhere in Canada, where numbers warrant.

Perhaps the most dramatic judgment of the Dickson era was the ruling, handed down in 1988, that acquitted Dr. Henry Morgentaler of a criminal conviction by striking down Canada's abortion law. The decision, which Dickson wrote, declared that the federal law, by "leaving a woman, by threat of criminal sanction, to carry a fetus to term unless she meets certain criteria unrelated to her own priorities and aspirations, is a profound interference with a woman's body."

Still, most legal observers said that Dickson's leadership of the court had resulted in a generally moderate approach to interpreting the charter. According to an analysis carried out by political scientists Peter Russell of the University of Toronto and F. L. Morton of the University of Calgary, Dickson's characteristic judicial approach was to strike out the middle ground. Said Morton: "When Dickson did dissent, he tended to support the individual rather than the state and opted for a broader interpretation rather than a narrower view of the charter." But his part, Dickson told *Maclean's*: "The strengthening of rights in the charter has been a good thing for the country, but it has made life for the judges more difficult, because balancing the rights of the individual against the rights of the collectivity is sometimes very difficult."

The chief justice's decision to retire fused Mulroney with the task of finding a replacement with Dickson's stature and reputation for clearheaded, thoughtful transactions. Some legal experts said that because both Dickson and his predecessor, Bora Laskin, were anglophones, the new chief justice would likely be a francophone. Among the leading contenders



Antoine Lamer, 57, current chairman of the Law Reform Commission of Canada and a left-of-centre liberal, and Claire *l'Espresso*-Dubé, a 62-year-old judge from Quebec City with right-of-centre views. MacPherson, for one, predicted that regardless of who takes over the Supreme Court has been set for the next decade—thanks to the wise leadership of the man who is stepping down.

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Guilty as charged

Iran-contra jury convicts John Poindexter

Former president Ronald Reagan's aide, respected national security adviser shamed the media and tried mightily to avoid the political limelight. But that was before the Iran-contra scandal broke in 1986 and propelled John Poindexter to congressional and state Federal Court. Poindexter, a retired army aviator who was once decorated for his excellence as a paper-warrior, was charged with misleading Congress as an illegal effort to cover up the affair, which involved the secret sale of arms to Iran and the diversion of the profits to Nicaragua's contra rebels. Last Saturday in Washington, after four weeks of testimony and six days of deliberation, the jury found Poindexter, 53, guilty of all five charges he faced: three counts of lying to Congress, two of obstructing Congress and one of conspiracy. Outside the courtroom, prosecutor Dan Webb told reporters, "Heavy judgment, the conviction of John Poindexter has marked the end of a very difficult and very important trial in American history."

Poindexter is the highest-ranking administration official to be convicted in the Iran-contra scandal, which rocked the last two years of the Reagan presidency. He was also the last major defendant to stand trial in an inquiry stretching back 20 years. Last May, Oliver North, the gang-bro ex-marine lieutenant-colonel who was Poindexter's aide, was convicted of obstructing Congress, destroying government documents and covering up illegal gifts. And Robert McFarlane, who provided Poindexter as national security adviser, pleaded guilty to four cover-up misdemeanors in March, 1988. Neither man, nor four lesser-known defendants who have also been convicted of Iran-contra misdemeanors, have served any time in jail. Last week, awaiting in the Poindexter case was set for June 11, and Reagan's former adviser could face as much as \$1.5 million in fines and up to 25 years in prison.

The Poindexter trial, which featured testimony by star witnesses North and Reagan—the latter on videotape—centered on the dramatic summer and fall of 1986, when White House officials were struggling to contain the Iran-contra crisis. When Poindexter testified, under a promise of immunity, before the 1987 congressional hearing into the affair, he appeared a demure figure in striking contrast to the theatrical North. But, unlike North, who shifted blame for his activities to his supporters, Poindexter accepted full responsibility for his actions. He told lawmakers that, while he had Reagan's general approval to sell arms to Iran, he made the final decision to divert profits from those sales to fund the contras. "The back-

door-contra arms. When Poindexter testified, under a promise of immunity, before the 1987 congressional hearing into the affair, he appeared a demure figure in striking contrast to the theatrical North. But, unlike North, who shifted blame for his activities to his supporters, Poindexter accepted full responsibility for his actions. He told lawmakers that, while he had Reagan's general approval to sell arms to Iran, he made the final decision to divert profits from those sales to fund the contras. "The back-



Poindexter and wife Linda: a vow to keep fighting

stage here with me," Poindexter declared. "It was convinced the President would, in the end, thank it was a good idea. But I did not want him to be associated with the decision."

At Poindexter's trial, the defense demanded that Reagan testify as an attempt to show that the former president gave his aide authority to carry out Iran-contra policies however he saw

fit. Judge Harold Greene concurred that demand, ordering Reagan to provide videotaped testimony to avoid a circus atmosphere at the Washington courthouse. Taking the stand on Feb. 16 and 17 in a federal courtroom in Los Angeles, Reagan was a decidedly friendly witness for the defense, once even smiling at Poindexter, who was sitting in the room. But whether he actually helped Poindexter was another question. At one point, Reagan said: "It was the consistent policy of my administration to advocate the support [of the contra rebels]. Thus, administrative officials were generally authorized to implement that policy." But Reagan also said that he would not have wanted his top officials to lie to Congress. And he often appeared confused and awkward with exact details of Poindexter's activities. "I don't recall," he said over and over—and continued to insist, against all evidence, that no crimes had been committed and no funds diverted to Nicaragua.

The prosecution, for its part, sought to show that after news of the scandal first became public, Poindexter was the key figure in a plot to withhold information from Congress in order to spare Reagan political embarrassment. North testified that Poindexter had investigated him for lying to a congressional inquiry and that he had watched Poindexter tear up a privately embarrassing presidential document on the shipment of Hawk missiles to Iran in 1985. In his closing arguments, prosecutor Webb argued that he had provided ample evidence that Poindexter had conducted "a private war in Nicaragua" and knowingly misled Congress about his activities. Webb also accused Reagan of giving "biased" testimony.

In a move that surprised some legal experts, the defense decided not to put Poindexter on the stand. His lawyer, Richard Beckler, told the jury in his closing statement that his client was a "victim" in a "political battle" between Congress and the Reagan White House over U.S. aid to the Nicaraguan rebels. "This was not some angry little conspiracy," he said, adding that Poindexter had been "working for the President" and never lied to or tried to conceal anything from Congress. But the jurors obviously disagreed. After the five guilty verdicts were read, pronouncing murmurs of shock throughout the courtroom, Beckler vowed to

appeal, telling reporters, "We're going to keep fighting it as long as we can." If so, the trailing Iran-contra chapter in American history may yet require a postscript.

MARY NEWMAN and BOB LEVIN with WILLIAM COWLEY in Washington

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Rime and reason

A new biography celebrates a great poet

COLINGRIDGE: EARLY VISIONS
by Richard Holmes
(General: 499 pages, \$54.95)

He is perhaps best known for the accidental loss "Water, water everywhere/No drop to drink." They are part of Samuel Taylor Coleridge's epic 1798 poem, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, a classic of English literature written when he was 26. Biographies of Coleridge have tended to emphasize negative aspects of the great poet—his opium addiction, his infidelity and betrayal, and even his occasional gleamings. All that has overshadowed other sides of Coleridge, a complex hybrid of political journalist, theologian, dabbler in drugs and master of languages. Now, British writer Richard Holmes injects vibrant life and humor into a long-overlooked figure with his glorious biography, *Coleridge: Early Visions*. Master of English's preeminent Win-

stead Book of the Year prize in 1992, it is brimming with admiration for the subject: "If he doesn't leap out of these pages—inflated, amused, endlessly personifying and invade your imagination," writes Holmes, "then I have failed to do him justice."

The initial installment of a projected three-volume biography of the poet, Holmes's stylishly written book chronicles Coleridge's life from his 1772 birth in Ottery St. Mary, in the southwest English county of Devon, through to his departure for Malta in 1844 for health reasons. From his father's despair as well as his mother's, Holmes constructs a rich account of the poet's fascinating but often agonizing life. By the time he reached his 30s, he had established a reputation as an important poet and became hero and mentor to a younger generation of writers. "He would be seen as part of that ecstatic, literate tradition of young writers, like Keats, Shelley, or Byron (or even Arthur

Shelley), who lived and died in a genuine blaze of talent," writes Holmes.

Born the youngest of 10 children to a scholarly clergyman and an affluent mother, Coleridge had a miserable childhood. He was often forced to sleep under a hedge all night as punishment for some minor transgression. As a lonely child, he took solace in books and writing. At school in London he proved forced to be brutally antagonistic—both in organized debate and in his relations with his schoolmates. Later, that combative streak, coupled with his fearful intellect, made him an invited spurn in the schoolboy collections of 18th-century London. In a setting where even made their mark, and often their living, by their verbal dexterity, Coleridge became known for his erudite wit.

That erudite wit extended to his private life. Coleridge was cavalier with the women he courted and often abandoned them for long periods with no explanations. Even after marrying the attractive, hot-tempered Sara Fricker in 1796, he sometimes traveled on his own, indifferent to her pleas to stay with her. He was also notorious for letting down his allies—including fellow poet William Wordsworth, a constant companion who learned to expect little from his friend. His obduracy, no moralized life acknowledgment, even though they repeatedly came to his aid.

Holmes rejects the popular wisdom that as unhappy childhood justifies or explains all his adult behavior. His book is here where it matters: Coleridge and attempts to understand why the

wronged Wordsworth could still describe him as "the most wonderful man" he had ever known. Holmes says that Coleridge's stoic, romantic nature was necessarily linked with his ability to relate to others over a long period of time. He points to his aforementioned, already extreme friendships with such writers as Charles Lamb and William Hazlitt. On one occasion, Coleridge refused to leave the Wordsworth household, saying that he wanted to become part of their family. Holmes dwells on Coleridge's many troubled loves and remains low, at 21, he volunteered for the army under a pseudonym simply to escape debts and an unhappy romance.

As a political thinker, Coleridge was a man of contradictions. Essentially a conservative who firmly believed in British imperialism, he still became involved with the Romanticism, a radical movement of moral concerns. He embraced the idea of the French Revolution but later expressed his disaffection with its excesses in polemical poems and newspaper articles.

Coleridge the artist, meanwhile, was simply

too free-thinking and chaotic for his art. Holmes says, "His taste for fantasy, dream and imagination alienated his contemporaries. Their often-voiced criticism of his work brought on periods of melancholy—and depression. During the black periods, Coleridge resorted to opium, eventually becoming a

Coleridge "brilliant, animated, endlessly provoking"

opium addict. Yet, as Holmes points out, it was during those black episodes that he created his finest poetry, including *Abbie Noon*. Coleridge was also addicted to travel. For the restless poet, wandering through Europe was a form of relaxation. "Coleridge seemed to learn as much from landscape as from literature," writes Holmes, "as much from children's games as from philosophical treatises, as much from two flights as from theology." For all his intellectual prowess and verbiage-like erudition, Coleridge realized that he did not possess the literary gifts of Wordsworth or Percy Bysshe Shelley. He knew that he had to squeeze every drop of inspiration from everything and everyone he encountered. According to Holmes, that pressure made him something of an artistic vampire, a man who would squeeze a flower's petals or roily vegetables a flower with a writer's eye. He wanted to evaluate the best of the Romantic poets pained him until his death in 1834.

Still, as the author points out, Coleridge made a profound contribution to English literature, particularly with *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*. While his work may not be as popular as Wordsworth's, or as hot-blooded and passionate as Shelley's, it possesses an enduring power and lyricism. Coleridge achieved his lifelong desire that his work leave a lasting impression on the world. And now, with Coleridge, his biographer has made the man himself equally unforgettable.

MICHAEL COHEN

Ah, high tea. It's been part of daily life in Victoria since the mid-1800s, served with refreshing punctuality in such elegant places as the Edwardian-era Empress Hotel. But it's certainly not the only tidbit of history in British Columbia. There's the haunting legacy of the First Peoples. History carved from spirit song to

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A CANADIAN BREAKTHROUGH

Pulp and paper scientists decipher the dioxin code

The search for new knowledge proceeds in many different directions in the pulp and paper industry, stimulated by the impulse to find better ways of doing things. It is aimed at improving the production process, from standing trees to finished products, developing new products and new uses for cellulose fibre, and minimizing the impact of the industry on the environment.

The Research program

Rounded over sixty years ago, the Pulp and Paper Research Institute of Canada (Paprican) has established



The Dioxin Research Team: Dr. Corinne E. Lathé, Dr. Bruce I. Fleming, Dr. Richard M. Berry, and Dr. Ronald H. Voss at Paprican.

mill as a world leader in pulp and paper research. It is co-sponsored by the Canadian Government, and the universities of McGill and British Columbia.

Paprican's most significant environmental achievement in recent years was the ability of its scientists to decipher the dioxin code.

The presence of low levels of dioxins and furans was first noted in some bleached pulp, some pulp mill effluents, and some paper products about five years ago. The discovery was made when new monitoring techniques and equipment became available which were over one thousand times more

sensitive than hitherto. They permitted, for the first time, detection of dioxins in parts per trillion.

The presence of even trace levels of these unwanted substances was unacceptable to the industry. Paprican initiated a comprehensive research program to learn more about the sources and method of formation of the dioxins and furans and to find how they might be eliminated from pulp manufacturing processes.

Breakthrough...!

Paprican's scientists quickly found some clues: among them, the rise of dioxin levels from one mill to

another, and the absence of detectable traces at some. The research showed that at some mills contaminants were present in the wood chip supply, in defibers, and in other washing additives used in the pulp mill which could act as precursors to the formation of dioxins and furans. Steps were recommended to minimize these contaminants. On further investigation, it was also found that the dioxin-free mills used low quantities of chlorine bleach. In other words, the production of dioxins and furans was NOT an inevitable result of bleaching pulp. Rather, it was the result of chlorination of undesirable contaminants present in varying amounts at some pulp mills when high levels of chlorine

were used. As more pieces of the dioxin puzzle fell into place, Paprican was able to prescribe a series of measures that would allow the mills to take steps to control their raw material supplies and to operate in such a way as to eliminate the problem.

A \$1.5 Billion commitment

To date, Canadian pulp companies have committed some \$1.5 billion for extensive process modifications and efficient treatment to reduce the formation of these unwanted by-products of the bleaching process. More commitments

will be forthcoming as companies complete their plans to carry out Paprican's recommendations.

Ongoing research

Other research programs are in progress to gain further insights into the potential interactions between the industry's operations and the environment. Pulp and paper companies are resolved to continue making safe, quality products for Canadians and others the world over while protecting the environment.

FOR MORE INFORMATION:
Public Information Officer
Canadian Pulp and Paper Association
Soo Lyle Building, 1760 Fleet
330 Westdale Avenue
Montreal, Quebec H3B 4T5

The quest for high-value products, for improved competitiveness, and for environmentally-friendly processes is finding expression in the selection of Paprican by the Canadian government as the leader of one of the 14 newly-established networks of excellence.

Paprican will bring together scientists and engineers from Canadian universities to develop further the mechanical pulping process to produce superior grades of printing and writing papers while working toward greater harmony with the environment.

This important initiative reflects the industry's resolve to achieve a balance between business opportunities and environmental responsibilities.



The Pulp and Paper Industry of Canada
Committed to renewal



Muddling through, Canadian style

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Zeeus, Dr. Park, how prophetic is it to interpret your imminent peregrinations?

What, in totality, is the exultation of the vacuumosity in the magnitude of your casual capacity?

Roll, yes, I must admit I was getting a bit bored with your incessant blatherings on about your African adventures.

As a matter of fact, so was I. What particularly is bothering you, if we may get down to specifics?

Well, I know you think you're done of among South Africa's free state, but while you're here, guess, Canada is falling apart.

That is goodness and dreamworld. Not to mention puff and codswallop.

Yeah, but you're born out of the country for several months.

Exactly. Distance is a great armor. It would do the country enormous good if the entire population was shipped abroad for several months. It would be a nice use of tax dollars. Now don't believe Canada is about to fall apart.

About as much chance as the Toronto Maple Leafs have of winning the Stanley Cup. Really?

As a matter of fact, yes. The Maple Leafs have no chance for the heftie, since they won't get the talent.

You're suggesting that Canada has?

Of course. The genius of this country is that it's—steering from the three—muddling through.

Golden State: The French mind, unlike the English mind, illustrates things as if done in precise fashion. That's why the French, who like to improve their serf life into a regular pattern with a mistress on Thursday afternoon, are understood the English who flounder around with affairs that end in divorce.

Granted. Francophones will never understand anglophones in this country. Shouldn't we be expected to. Not to mention the anglo-anglophones—done immigrants of another founding people.

You're wondering around. What's your point? My point is that this country sure is a sight



It is the national equivalent of the Arctic. Bizarre marriage only common in bathing suits against the ether.

You're suggesting that the intellectual giant Robert Bourassa is blithering when he says Quebec will not accept any dissolution of the original March Lake accord?

Not at all. Bobby B., the "holding water" in the charlatan P. Trudeau's mind to old him, is an extremely shrewd survivor. Bourassa's support against any movement was hatched in Bourassa's basement and Bob-Bob opted out only a day before Lévesque's announcement of his new party.

So?

So it's well-known that Bourassa says privately that if anyone has to take Quebec, not at Canada it's going to be him—not Jacques Parsona and the Parti Québécois.

What's your point?

My point is that Bourassa's cockbroomism is

Morris Lake is all done to keep one rationalist step ahead of the PQ.

Yes, but the weekly *Confederation* business community says it is sure Quebec could go it alone.

Businessmen do not have the monopoly on wisdom. Otherwise our countries would be run by the Donald Trumps and the Robert Campbells. Businessmen don't have many votes.

Granted. But you say that even just indicating that most Quebecers now favor separation?

Yes, but I also noted the most significant factor in that same poll.

What would that be, pray tell?

It was that seven higher percentage within level of sovereignty association.

Could you explain to me exactly what sovereignty-association means?

Certainly. That's what I'm here for. Sovereignty-association is some wase chaps has pointed out, is like divorce with bad precedent. You come home on weekends for a little nooky.

So you're saying Quebec wants it both ways?

Don't we all? The Westmont Abolitionists in Westmont had it for generations, the joy of living in the most civilized city in the country without having to learn the language. The Québécois simply feel it's their turn to be on their own but not quite so their own. Elizabeth Columbia has enjoyed this status for years.

Get serious. He don't seem to be worried at all about this trend.

It's not a crime—only among politicians and editorial writers. It's a casual Canadian condition, a revealing cottage industry that keeps chic reporters employed. If you want to see a crisis, go to Poland, go to—

if you'll excuse me—South Africa. There's one real still. This is terrible to

Excuse me, but it's not a word here to someone or those who think his country is breaking up and the disunited parts are going to be swallowed up by the United States of America.

The over-squabbling parts are not going to be swallowed by the U.S.A. The country may become different but it will remain a country. How so?

It may become somewhat like the European Community which, if you think about it, is about to adopt a form of sovereignty-association—separate but linked.

So you're saying

Yes saying there are not going to be any grounds at the Quebec table. You won't have to change your money. The sun will come up and children will play in the street.

Golly, Dr. Park, you once again have modified the dysfunction. The nation is grateful to you. Thank nothing of it.

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